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In 1928 Theodore Granik founded and moderated a weekly radio show, "American Forum of the Air," which continued until 1961. By then, it was a television program which had generated a spin-off series, "Youth Wants to Know." The Library's Granik holdings include radio broadcasts on discs, kinescope films, videotapes, stills, and his papers from 1930 to 1970.



Editor's Note

American Ornaments

This issue of the *Quarterly Journal* is about ornamentation—decorative embellishments to which we have become accustomed but that are, strictly speaking, superfluous. Such artifacts bear present witness to a past surplus that, at least for a moment, allowed priority to be given to something other than efficiency.

It has been argued, on occasion, that until all members of a society are provided for, no one should be allowed the waste that superfluity connotes. One might even attribute the drastic decline in fixed ornamentation over the last few decades to an unconscious fear that obvious ostentation will be not only observed but condemned as decadent in a world increasingly aware of deprivation.

Such social pressures affect not only individual behavior but also that of governments and other immobile institutions, although the state has been known to convince its citizenry that publicly apparent fixtures are somehow public property. Literal-minded observers may even confirm such theoretical ownership by conspicuously affixing their noms de plume to accessible surfaces. On the governmental side, heroic ornamentation has effectively obscured innumerable authoritative embarrassments, although such concrete obfuscation is becoming less common in enlightened countries.

Semifixed ornamentation has shown a similar decline over the years. Figureheads disappeared from ships' bows, leaving behind only a metaphorical appellation. Automobile hood ornaments followed suit, giving way to elusive brand-name-oriented auras of economical chic. And when packages became less attractively durable than the products they contained, they ceased to serve the myriad long-term secondary purposes that ensured their continuing presence as ornamental advertising.

Ephemeral ornamentation, on the other hand, appears to be expanding at a rapid rate. As numbers become the primary criteria for investment in the dramatic media, for example, the progression from stage to screen to video is inevitable, since size of audience varies inversely with level of presence. Similarly, as military might becomes less parадable it slips from the public's mind while, hidden away under land and sea, nuclear weapons become the ultimate societal ornaments.

The Library's Thomas Jefferson Building and its contents, of course, constitute fixed ornamentation par excellence. Denys Peter Myers presents additional miscellaneous examples from the Historic American Buildings Survey. Semifixed ornamentation—in the form of a free press in a confined environment—is the subject of James Morris's essay on prison newspapers. Translated to the ephemeral level, freedom of the press is demonstrated in the use of radio and television as a public forum, discussed here by Sarah Dashiell Rouse.

The transition from concrete to imaged ornamentation is reflected in the early years of the movies, seen through the eyes of a child actor by True Boardman. Ephemeralization was hastened by the development of the animated film, a grand achievement that made it possible to combine movement, sound, color, and imagination to create an infinite number of worlds that never were. What could be more perfectly ornamental than the talking forest creatures, artfully set to music, that Ross Care discusses.

If fixed ornamentation shows us the past as it was for some, then, ephemeral ornamentation reflects the present as many would have it be. Both forms are highly manipulable and, on the immediate level, conceal more than they reveal. For the aware observer, however, they provide a most fascinating cultural portrait. **FM**

Threads of Melody

The Evolution of a Major Film Score— Walt Disney's *Bambi*

BY ROSS B. CARE



Frank Churchill, who composed all of *Bambi*'s songs and major instrumental themes, originally joined the Disney musical staff as a pianist in 1931. He had been performing professionally since he was fifteen and before his Disney work had been playing "mood" music on silent movie sets. He later moved on to sound-picture recording and radio broadcasting. Churchill committed suicide in May 1942, a few months before the premier of *Bambi*, the film that proved to be his posthumous masterpiece. Copyright © 1983 Walt Disney Productions. World Rights Reserved.

Copyright © Ross B. Care 1983.

BAMBI marked the end of an epoch at the Walt Disney Studio. Though the Disney films would recoup something of their original appeal and power with the slick renaissance of the late forties and early fifties, *Bambi* signaled a close to the Golden Era of Disney animation that began with the release of *Steamboat Willie* in 1928, prospered through the tremendous popular successes of the ensuing Mickey Mouse series and the artistically and technically innovative Silly Symphonies, and culminated in the release of the first few animated features. Though all these early features owe a crucial stylistic debt to the preceding shorts (particularly the music-oriented Silly Symphonies), it is *Bambi* in which techniques perfected in the shorts for the seamless synthesis of music and visual storytelling reached an apex of refinement.

During the 1930s the studio developed a system by which both film and music might be developed simultaneously. The animation director worked in such close conjunction with the composer that the director's room, with its piano at which director and composer plotted action and scoring, came to be known as the *music room*, a term which stuck even after such intimate collaboration had become a thing of the past.

The Mickey Mouse and Silly Symphony shorts were a proving ground for two methods of musical application. In the plot-and-personality-oriented Mickeys, music generally took a supporting role; because of this, the Silly Symphony series evolved to provide films in which a cohesive, sustained musical score could take



The "Winter" sequence in *Bambi* is divided into two parts, the first depicting the beauty and humor of the season, the second its hardship and desolation. Scored respectively by *Bambi*'s cocomposers, Frank Churchill and Ed Plumb, the sequence provides good examples of the composers' individual styles and of the two contrasting musical idioms that Plumb and the rest of the studio's musical staff skillfully combined within the musical sound track as a whole. Churchill's music for the initial half of the sequence underscores Bambi's fascination with his first snowfall by a benign

melody for flute and strings. Later Churchill provides a lilting, neo-Tchaikovskian skater's waltz (with interludes of "Mickey Mousing") for the madcap exhilaration of Bambi and Thumper's bout of fun on a frozen forest pond which we see here. Plumb's scoring for the ensuing desolate winter scenes, including the death of Bambi's mother, incorporates a much denser, more contemporary idiom than Churchill's simple, straightforward sound. Copyright © 1942 Walt Disney Productions. World Rights Reserved.



A 1930s recording session at the Walt Disney Studio. Frank Churchill is conducting and Wilfred Jackson is looking on (at the far left). Copyright © 1983 Walt Disney Productions. World Rights Reserved.

precedence over incident. While *Mickey Mouse-ing* ultimately became a derogatory term for the unsubtle device of musically accenting each bit of action, the *Silly Symphony* series explored with seemingly endless variety the possibilities for synchronizing story, visuals, and music.

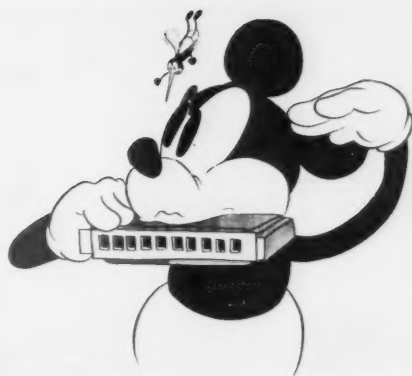
In production during the period which gave birth to the greatest of the *Silly Symphonies*—roughly 1935 through 1940—both *Snow White*

and *Pinocchio* hark back to the Old World operetta ambience of shorts such as *Goddess of Spring* and *The Pied Piper*. *Snow White*, with its deliberately positioned solos and ensembles, is surely the ultimate realization of the series' affinity for operetta, however updated and mildly jazz-flavored for the sake of 1930s audiences. *Pinocchio*, too, freely partook of Old World storybook charm, though musically the emphasis shifted from character solos to highly sophisticated orchestral background scoring. *Fantasia* is, of course, the ultimate *Silly Symphony*, a volatile amalgam of the tried-and-true forms (the suite, the tone poem, the mood piece) of the



Sillys, but heated to critical mass by sheerly virtuoso animation wedded to Leopold Stokowski's Olympian symphonic accompaniment. Almost in reaction to the rarified highbrow climate of *Fantasia*, the subsequent *Dumbo* was a Silly Symphony extended to an hour's length, complete with the Depression Era rhythms of a score reminiscent in spots of Paul Whiteman.

Which brings us to *Bambi*. While most viewers harbor warm memories of all of Disney's early features, the most enthusiastically emotional response is customarily reserved for the studio's 1942 production. *Bambi* marked a culmination and a turning point in the Disney



Frank Churchill composed music for nearly fifty Disney shorts, among them *The Whoopee Party*, *Lullaby Land*, and *Who Killed Cock Robin?*, in the 1930s. His song "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf" from the Silly Symphony *The Three Little Pigs* was the Disney studio's first major song hit, and led to his work on *Snow White*, *Dumbo*, and *Bambi*. Shown here is a scene from *Camping Out*, a 1934 black and white Mickey Mouse, for which Churchill composed a wonderfully catchy instrumental number performed by Mickey and the gang in the cartoon's opening scenes. Copyright © 1934 Walt Disney Productions. World Rights Reserved.

oeuvre, though it resists easy placement with its predecessors. This is partly attributable to its development as a kind of studio hybrid: while the major portion of Disney's staff occupied themselves with *Fantasia*, a separate, close-knit unit labored to bring Felix Salten's forest idyll to the screen.

Despite generally good reviews and eventual durable popularity, *Bambi* was not initially successful. Its slow acceptance was most probably the result of bad timing and conceptual miscalculation. Many critics have surmised that the film's harrowing depiction of human men as gun-wielding destroyers failed to jibe with the advent of World War II. In addition, *Bambi* is one of Disney's thematically grimmest narratives, positing as it does a universe in which creatures onto whom many of the best and most enduring (and endearing) human qualities have been grafted fall prey to a juggernaut unleashed by the humans themselves. (So much for *Bambi*'s being synonymous with mindless sentimentality.)

But the concern here is not with the film's complex ideology and conceptual contradictions,

but with one aspect of its execution which succeeds totally—namely, its score, an unqualified masterpiece composed and arranged by a staff working at peak power.

As with all of Disney's work, music and sound played a major part in making *Bambi* the sublime artistic construct it is. The music in particular provided the answer to the excessive verbosity inherent in Salten's novel, the characters of which are developed chiefly by

In keeping with Disney's admonition to use a smaller orchestra for some of the more intimate moments in *Bambi*, Plumb and Wolcott arranged Frank Churchill's ineffably lovely melodies underlying the "Interior of the Thicket" sequence for chamber orchestra. The sequence opens as a hushed "berceuse" for solo flute and muted strings and incorporates several passages (including the first statement of the score's important "walking" motif) that are among the few in the final film to be transposed intact from Churchill's preliminary 1938 draft. Copyright © 1942 Walt Disney Productions. World Rights Reserved.

means of sophisticated dialogue. Responding to the first draft of *Bambi's* screenplay, which totaled five thousand words, Disney felt that "the characters talk too much. In the book it's different, [but] we're working with a medium that calls for action, so let's cut all the unnecessary conversation."¹

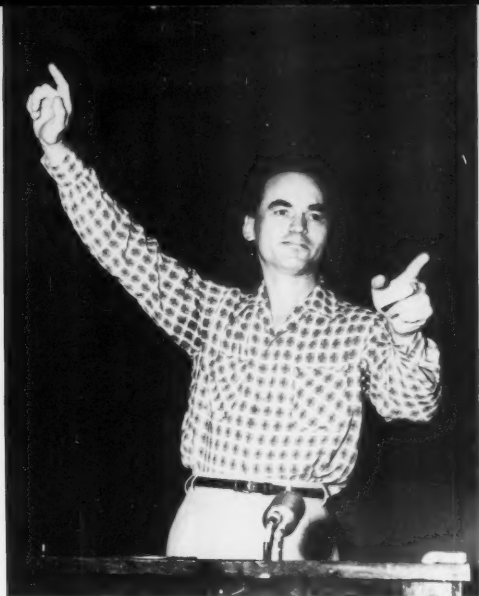
Excerpts from the conference that followed a rough screening with a rough version of the score in October of 1940 emphasize that after the screenplay had been streamlined, the importance of music revealed itself even more clearly.

Disney: You have to have a powerful music score on this. I tell you it will add to the picture's greatness if you do have a marvelous musical score, one that expresses the action and gives force to it. How many words of dialogue have we got in this picture?

Pearce: 900. There ought to be 875.

Disney: You see how important music is?





Paul Smith, associate *Bambi* arranger, was a studio regular who joined the Disney musical staff in the late 1930s. As composer and arranger, he created many scores for the cartoon shorts and contributed arrangements and supplemental scoring to *Snow White*, *Pinocchio*, *Victory Through Air Power*, *The Three Caballeros*, and *Cinderella*. But it was with his work for the True-Life Adventure nature series that Smith really came into his own as a Disney composer, providing music for most of the short films, as well as *The Living Desert*, *Secrets of Life*, and other features in this series. Copyright © 1983 Walt Disney Productions. World Rights Reserved.

History and Evolution of the Music

The first story conferences for *Bambi* were held in August 1937. Like the film itself, *Bambi's* score underwent a rather extended preproduction gestation period. The Disney Archives notes that the musician attending these first discussions was Leigh Harline, a trained composer responsible for many, if not all, of the most ambitious Silly Symphony scores and soon to compose the music for *Pinocchio*. However, the Library of Congress has in its music collection a complete, extended preliminary score for *Bambi*, dated October 1938, by the Disney Studio's Frank Churchill. Churchill would provide the basis for most of the *Bambi* sound, though his music would eventually be augmented and arranged by an entire staff of studio musicians.

A Chronology of the Evolution of the Musical Score

- 1937 First story conferences; Leigh Harline attends as composer, August
- 1938 Preliminary rough draft of score completed by Frank Churchill, October (Library of Congress copy dated October 21)
- 1940 Rough version of film screened; Disney offers criticism of rough score and proposes reconstruction job. Probably assigns Edward Plumb as associate composer, arranger and score developer, and coorchestrator, October
- 1941 Fantasound* recording of *Bambi* score considered, November
- 1942 Final score recorded, orchestra conducted by Alexander Steinert, chorus conducted by Charles Henderson, January 27

Complete musical score (as used in final recording) sent to the Library of Congress for copyright, February 16

Film released, Radio City Music Hall, New York City, August 13

* Stereophonic sound process used in the original recording and release of *Fantasia*.

Though it is difficult to trace *precisely* the exact sequence in which the score was constructed, the following order can be deduced (in part from story conference transcripts and speculation by Disney archivist David Smith): inasmuch as Harline was involved in the August 1937 conferences, it is apparent that Churchill began work on his version sometime in late 1937 or early 1938. On the evidence of the score's length and adherence to the structure of the final cut of the film, it also appears that the script's structure was firmly set when Churchill began his work and that he spent nearly a year on it. At any rate, the Archives reports that Disney viewed a version of the film with a loose music track by Churchill in October of 1940. Smith comments: "I get the impression that the



The "walking" motif, initially heard during Bambi's first steps in the thicket, serves as the principal theme for the forest walk sequence, a visual-musical interlude loosely structured as a rondo, a musical form in which one primary theme recurs between contrasting sections, i.e., A,B,A,C,A, etc. Churchill's graceful melody (A) with its unsteady rhythms that "Mickey Mouse" Bambi's halting first foray through the forest, is intercut with themes representing the creatures he meets along the way, their respective themes accounting for the B,C,D sections of the rondo form. Though *Bambi* eschews the blatant use of obvious motifs for each character, along with excessive "Mickey Mousing" in the score as a whole, the music does integrate both techniques, but the skillful, fluid means by which the two scoring methods are applied reveal how well the lessons of musical synthesis learned from the production of the Silly Symphony series blossomed into the refinement of the *Bambi* score. It is one of the most self-contained and timeless of all the Disney feature scores. Copyright © 1942 Walt Disney Productions. World Rights Reserved.

score was not all done at one time, with perhaps Plumb [the final score's associate composer] coming in at a later stage."

Excerpts from the story conferences which followed the rough screening, dated October 24, 1940, would seem to verify Smith's surmise. The session involved Disney, story director Perce Pearce, sequence directors James Algar and Sam Armstrong, and Frank Churchill, whose sparcity of comment seems to corroborate one animator's recall that Churchill slept through most of the story conferences.

Algar: What we have now is music generally written thematically ahead of the picture. The picture has been put to it, with the music to be scored later and put more to the picture, catching things in the dialogue which we didn't get now.

Pearce: I'd like Larry [Morey, *Bambi's* lyricist] and Frank to double back on it.

Disney: Yes, go back on the whole thing and get the cute you want. There's a terrific power to music. You can run any of these pictures and they'd be dragging and boring but the minute you put music behind them they have life and vitality they don't get in any other way. We have to do that with this picture. Put an emphasis on the music. *Completely reconstruct the score, but not throwing away themes we have.*³

Such comments indicate that Churchill's preliminary score (or a version of it) was the one chosen for the loose synchronizing to the rough screening; October 1940 also would seem to mark the date on which the score's reconstruction was begun in earnest. But Churchill was not technically proficient enough to supply all the musical handiwork that Disney demanded. Thus Edward Plumb, a highly trained serious musician and arranger, was assigned as associate composer, with studio musicians Paul Smith and Charles Wolcott, and *Bambi's* conductor Alexander Steinert also contributing to the development and orchestration of the score.

But in spite of the eventual group composition method involved in its creation, the search for a single guiding genius behind *Bambi's* score would lead, ironically enough, to a rank non-musician—namely, Disney himself. Of course, Disney always had definite ideas as to what he wanted for his projects and how to go about getting it. With a staff of talented musicians at his disposal, Walt's suggestions, critiques, and guidelines ranged from overall structure to finalized instrumentation.



This sequence is underscored by a series of eighteen short takes, some as brief as one measure of $\frac{3}{4}$. In the context of this article the term *take* of course refers to musical takes, not cinematic ones. Musical takes are the short, usually self-contained musical passages or accents, the individual components into which the musical-dramatic sequence as a whole is broken down. Takes can be as short as one measure (as in this sequence) or as long as an entire song or complete orchestral passage. (The major part of the film's ensuing "Galop of the Stags" was recorded as one continuous take.) In the final film these short takes are linked together, consecutively and often without pause, to form a unified, continuous flow of underscoring. Many takes are usually used when the music is required to closely synchronize or "Mickey Mouse" the action, especially when the action is quixotic and *not* synchronized to a persistent rhythmic beat as in this "Bambi Meets Faline" scene. Copyright © 1942 Walt Disney Productions. World Rights Reserved.

One of the funniest scenes in *Bambi*, featuring some of the most deliberately "cartoonish" scoring on the entire sound track, is the episode in which Thumper falls victim to "twitterpation," a Disney euphemism for sexual awakening and love. The scene is also enhanced by a wonderful voice characterization for the Mae Westian female bunny. One animator recalls that her humorously seductive vocalise was simply a "wild track," i.e., the singer's tentative, unrehearsed first reading of Churchill's "Twitterpation" waltz tune, that proved so charming and right it was retained for the final sound track. Copyright © 1942 Walt Disney Productions. World Rights Reserved.



Three key members of the Disney studio musical staff that was responsible for the collective realization of the *Bambi* score (from left to right): Charles Henderson, choral arranger and director; Ed Plumb, associate composer and arranger; and Alexander Steinert, conductor and arranger. At the far right is the film's supervising director, David Hand. Copyright © 1983 Walt Disney Productions. World Rights Reserved.

Disney: [referring to the music] We've got to take this thing and make it appeal to a very broad audience. The music has to give dramatic emphasis, and I feel a monotony to it.

Algar: Would you see more definite syncing of the music to the picture?

Disney: I see a bit more guts to it, maybe even overdoing it. You might say on the corny side in some spots, but with the old dramatic force of a good orchestra

behind it. . . . Basically the music we will have is there now—and, I don't know—it adds a certain monotony to me.

Wherever you can, get melody in the music and stress it. It would give the picture a lift and you've got to do it with music.

Armstrong: It means thinking in terms of a bigger orchestra than was contemplated at first.

Disney: No, in terms of more showmanship with the music. The music has to supply something that would ordinarily be supplied with dialogue and a more gripping story maybe. The music has to supply that, and it can. I think at times you have to use 40 or 50 pieces for your peak dramatic points. There's a lot of places where a smaller orchestra, even down to the point of five instruments for some of the cuter, lighter stuff, will serve.⁴

Anyone familiar with *Bambi* and its score realizes to what extent Disney's suggestions really *did* determine the eventual outcome. An examination of Churchill's preliminary score verifies Disney's twice-voiced contention about the "monotony" of the first draft; as noted, Churchill was primarily a songwriter, and his attempts at scoring extended dramatic passages are repetitive and harmonically flat. (Indeed, the more lengthy sections of the preliminary score were totally scrapped and rescored by Plumb.) The most obvious of Disney's suggestions to be worked into the final score are those concerning instrumentation. The "dramatic force of a good orchestra" does indeed energize the "peak dramatic points": the man episodes, the stag fight, the hunt-fire sequences; but Walt's admonition for the use of "a smaller orchestra" was adhered to as well. Indeed, the limpid, intimate chamber orchestration underlying the opening thicket and forest walk sections are among the film's (and score's) most charming aspects. His appeal for "more showmanship" and the whittling down of the instrumental sound "even to the point of five instruments" is obvious in many passages, most notably Thumper's seduction scene with its squealing solo clarinet accompanied by a few strings.

Though Disney was articulate in expressing his wishes for the music, he could at times voice contradictory ideas on what he wanted. For example:

Disney: The music is inclined to be a little too different and new . . . [but a few pages later] I was thinking of the fight going on here and I wondered what music like *The Rite of Spring* stuck to that would look like.⁵

If, to Walt's ears, *The Rite of Spring* was not "new and different," what was? Nonetheless, the allusion took. When I first heard *Bambi's* music divorced from the film on the sound track recording released in the 1950s,⁶ I was struck by the resemblance of certain agitato passages to the early Stravinsky, particularly sections of the climactic hunt and fire episodes which, though definitely evincing Ed Plumb's distinctive style, bore echoes of the "Kastchei" passages in *The Firebird*.



Edward Plumb, *Bambi's* associate composer and key orchestral arranger, is remembered by most of his studio associates as an arranger rather than a full-time composer. But besides helping to adapt and develop the work of Frank Churchill, who composed the film's songs and many of its motifs and background themes, Plumb was also responsible for the composition of *Bambi's* more intense, complex musical sequences: *Bambi* and his mother's first approach to the meadow, the clash between *Bambi* and Ronno over *Faline*, the final hunt and forest fire sequences. All in all, about a third of *Bambi's* score can be attributed to Plumb's sophisticated symphonic scoring. While he free-lanced for several Hollywood studios, Plumb worked regularly at the Disney studio for over a decade, providing score development, arrangements, and orchestrations for *Dumbo*, *Saludos Amigos*, *Victory Through Air Power*, *The Three Caballeros*, *Make Mine Music*, *Song of the South*, *The Living Desert*, *Peter Pan*, and *Lady and the Tramp*. As musical director for *Fantasia*, it was probably Plumb who aided in abridging and editing the eight lengthy classical works to fit the film's two-hour running time. Copyright © 1983 Walt Disney Productions. World Rights Reserved.

Bambi's Musicians

Born in Rumford, Maine, Frank Churchill moved west as a child and by age fifteen was playing piano professionally with a band in Ventura, California. Primarily a self-taught, instinctive musician, Churchill studied at the University of California in Los Angeles, though he only managed to obtain two semesters of music theory before dropping out of college to play with a road band.

Churchill joined Disney's in 1931, scoring both Mickeys and Silly Symphonies, and creating the studio's first mammoth musical hit with "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf" from *The Three Little Pigs*, released in May of 1933. Three days after the tune had been published it sold over 39,000 copies in New York City alone, and went on to become a kind of anthem of America's Depression years.

Churchill lent music to nearly fifty Disney shorts before commencing his work for Disney's first feature, *Snow White*, in 1937. The tremendous popular success of his songs for this film led to his work on *Dumbo* (1941) and *Bambi*. However, even before the latter's release Churchill's career and life came to an untimely end. Troubled by nervous tension compounded by alcoholism, Frank Churchill killed himself with a shotgun on his ranch near Newhall, California, on May 14, 1942, at the age of forty. The music for *Dumbo*, coauthored with Oliver Wallace, had just won an Oscar for Best Score and the song "Baby Mine" by Churchill and Ned Washington had been nominated for Best Song. Churchill's work for *Bambi* would receive similar dual nominations in 1942.

Like Harline, Edward Plumb was a trained musician but his facility in executing dense, contemporary-sounding passages surpassed Harline's. Plumb was born in Streator, Illinois, in 1907. In the United States, he studied music at Dartmouth College on a scholarship and at the David Mannes School in New York on a music fellowship. In Austria, he studied at the Akademis at the University of Vienna and privately with Dr. Josef Marx and Dr. Hans Weisse. As arranger, Plumb free-lanced with Paul Whiteman, Andre Kostelanetz, Rudy Vallee, Vincent Lopez, and Johnny Green. He worked at Disney's

from 1937 through 1945, then at various studios (including Paramount, Republic, Universal, and MGM) from 1945 to 1951, when he rejoined Disney's to orchestrate and arrange many of the middle-late period features, both animated and live, until his death on April 18, 1958, in North Hollywood.⁷

Plumb can probably be considered the head of the musical staff who molded Churchill's music into its final form on the musical sound track. Two of the most important musicians under him were Charles Wolcott and Paul Smith. Both were Disney Studio regulars and primarily arrangers during this period, though Wolcott did some secondary songwriting, and Smith came into his own for his scoring of the True Life Adventure nature series. *Bambi's* sensitive conductor, Alexander Steinert, whose previous concert career had associated him with Ravel and Gershwin, also made important contributions to the arranging and developing of Churchill's songs and themes. Charles Henderson, the vocal director from 20th Century-Fox who had arranged *Fantasia's* "Ave Maria," supplied *Bambi's* important choral arrangements and direction.

Churchill's Preliminary Score— Background

Frank Churchill's preliminary score, dated October 21, 1938, is blocked out in sixteen musical sections. Its title page designates it as a "Piano Conductor" score "by Frank Churchill." Actually, it is a piano score written out in three staves, and *not* an actual orchestral breakdown as is a true piano conductor's score, such as the one used for the final recording sessions. Each of the sections is actually a musical sequence containing a variety of themes and episodes. Apparently the sequential-cyclic structure of the picture was established early in its development, for the rough score follows fairly closely the exact seasonal sequence of the final film.

This preliminary draft is also fascinating as a raw and (possibly) unretouched example of Churchill's compositional style. Churchill was primarily an untrained, intuitive musician whose greatest gift was for creating highly effective melodies from simple music basics, and he pos-



Plumb's complex scoring for the desolate winter montage sequence and the ensuing death of Bambi's mother provides a vivid contrast to the simple artlessness of Churchill's themes for the first winter scenes. Icy parallel chords for large chorus and free-form orchestral effects paint a chilling, Ravel-like impression of chill winds and swirling snow; the mother deer's death is underscored by Plumb's electrifying pasacaglialike symphonic development of Churchill's simple three-chord "man" motif. Like Plumb's developing of Leigh Harline's themes for the "Whale Chase" sequence in *Pinocchio*, these winter passages are among the most musically sophisticated to be found in any film of the period. Copyright © 1942 Walt Disney Productions. World Rights Reserved.

Bambi and his mother acutely vulnerable against an empty expanse of snow, in the "Death of Bambi's Mother" sequence from *Bambi*. Copyright © 1942 Walt Disney Productions. World Rights Reserved.





The contender, Faline, and Bambi in the "Buckfight" sequence from *Bambi*. Copyright © 1942 Walt Disney Productions. World Rights Reserved.

essed the ineffable ability to take the most elementary rudiments of music and turn them into something fresh and memorable.⁸

Frank Churchill's excellence as a writer of tunes is amply evidenced in his work for the Silly Symphonies and *Snow White* and by his high ASCAP rating (and royalties!) at the time of his death. But *Bambi* was to force Churchill's prodigious gifts in a new direction, and he obviously needed assistance. Disney felt that the composer's poignant melodic style was note-per-

fect for the mood of certain crucial parts of *Bambi* and he was, as usual, correct. In addition to its wide commercial appeal, Churchill's music has an innocence and naiveté, a sense of wondering artlessness in his melodies, that might elude a more sophisticated composer.

However, Disney felt *Bambi* needed a twentieth-century concert-idiom sound—"I wondered what music like *The Rite of Spring* stuck to the stag fight would look like?"—for sections of the film's narrative, thus the technically well-versed Plumb's assignment to the project. For these sections, usually the peak dramatic climaxes, Churchill's music was either completely replaced (as with the desolate winter and forest fire episodes) or densely embellished by Plumb's com-

plexly structured orchestral overlay (both man sequences).

The background music most obviously in Churchill's individual style in the completed film occurs mainly within the story's more lyrical and conventionally melodic sequences. But even here its streamlining by many developers may be compared to a good editor's polishing of a writer's ideas. In the Disney *modus operandi* a distinctively collective effort toward excellence superseded the work of any single contributor (the whole, of course, masterminded by the indefatigable Walt himself!).

At Disney's, Churchill had the aid of a full staff of artist-technicians in weaving the seamless tapestry that is the rhapsodic *Bambi* music from his own beautiful but elementary threads of melody. The resultant score could only have evolved in the Hollywood of that period, and probably only with such eclectic finesse within the specialized confines of the Disney Studio it-

self. Where and when else in history could you have found a musician trained at Vienna's Akademis polishing up the music of a piano player who started off his career in a jazz band in Tijuana?

Churchill's Preliminary Score—Analysis

Churchill's early draft score is framed by an ethereal "Pastoral": a haunting composition in 6/8, influenced in its lyricism by the Impressionists, which indicates something of the mood and tone for which Disney was striving. Having preceded and inspired the full-blown orchestral-choral arrangement of "Love Is a Song" underlying the film's magnificent, opening multiplane pan of the forest, Churchill's ecstatic "Pastoral" was not included in the final *Bambi* score (but can be heard at the start of the title sequence of Disney's little-seen *The Reluctant Dragon*).

"Pastoral"

The musical score for "Pastoral" is presented in three systems. Each system consists of three staves: a top staff with a treble clef, a middle staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a bottom staff with a bass clef. The time signature is 6/8. The first system begins with a measure number '4' above the first staff. The second system begins with a measure number '8' above the first staff. The music features flowing melodic lines with many beamed eighth and sixteenth notes. There are several long, sweeping slurs across measures. Piano markings 'p.' are placed below the bottom staff in several measures. The notation includes various accidentals (sharps, flats, naturals) and rests.

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Several themes from sections 1 and 2* actually did, however, find their way into the final film. An episode entitled "Song of the Magpies" (though no lyrics are included in the preliminary draft) became the basis for the "Hurry" music in the thicket sequence. Probably the most significant and interesting discovery is that a version of the melody of "Love Is a Song" is found in section 1. Though undeveloped and tentative, the essential melody and bridge section are there. It is really given no more emphasis than any of the other tunes which weave almost at random throughout the lengthy and amorphous rough draft, and yet one can imagine an alert Walt hearing Churchill's piano rendition for the first time and commenting, "I like that theme. Think we can do something more with it?"

Much of the first draft music is admittedly simplistic, an uneven exercise in undistinguished parallel harmonic progressions and chord changes too elementary even to be classified as motifs.⁹ But, nonetheless, there are fragments yielding themes which survived nearly intact in the film. For example, sections 2 through 4, forerunners of the thicket and spring walk sequences, contain the finished score's poignant "Walking Theme" almost intact. Section 4 reprises the theme of "Love Is a Song," as well as announcing Faline's theme. Sections 5 and 6 provide equivalents for the meadow sequence (which also utilizes Faline's motif) and include several repetitious fanfares finally left unused but immediately suggestive of the bombastic gallop of the stags. Especially noteworthy is the initial emergence of the man motif, three ascending parallel chromatic chords counterpointed by a droning descending fourth interval—a vivid example of Churchill's ability to create something unforgettable through the simplest of musical means. The lucid three-note motif plays a crucial part in the final score where, nonetheless, it is integrated with and embellished by Plumb's dense orchestral fabric.

Preliminary sections 7 through 10 are clearly rough analogues for the fall and winter sequences to come, but most of Churchill's ideas here were scrapped eventually. The man motif

* In the ensuing discussion the numbers refer to the sixteen musical sections (or sequences) in the preliminary score.

reasserts itself in these sections, and there is a rudimentary chase passage (sounding rather like an early thirties Mickey Mouse score, dated and light-years removed from Plumb's driving hysteria in the final version of the hunt sequences). A theme identified as the "Winter Grass" motif survives intact from draft to film. Reprised several times in preliminary form, it is heard in the film only once, briefly but effectively, when Bambi and his mother discover the first spring grass near the end of the winter sequence.

Sections 11 through 16 adhere to the action of the film's final third. Section 11 is dubbed "Song of the Brook," a choral set piece later replaced by the "Gay Little Spring Song" number. The walking theme appears again, and a lengthy hunt episode develops (to fall victim in turn to Plumb's far more agitated subsequent rendition). Churchill's preliminary draft concludes with an embroidered reprise of the opening "Pastorale."

As noted, the first version of what became *Bambi's* score fairly faithfully mirrored the essential structure of the finished film. On the basis of it we may proceed to analyze an exemplary section of the refined and completed score, paying particular attention to themes which evolved from the preliminary sketches and to the various arrangers responsible for the score's eventual elaboration. As is readily apparent in viewing the film, *Bambi* (unlike *Snow White* and *Pinocchio*) boasts no "star turn" numbers, opting instead for emphasizing the background score which weaves songs and incidental music cunningly together to the virtual exclusion of the character solo. The resulting construct is a seamless musical tapestry which envelops the tenuously plotted story in a delirious, lyrical haze of piquant melodies and complexly modernistic, programmatic background scoring.

The Greek chorus of the sawdust which supported *Dumbo's* diverse happenings becomes, in *Bambi*, the veritable voice of nature. At times heard en masse, at others fragmented into separate sections or even soloists (the latter employed impressionistically and not for purposes of individual showcasing), the choral voices project both song lyrics ("Little April Shower" and "I Bring You a Song") and the purely phonetic

sounds (similar in effect to the mythic, pantheistic orchestral-choral textures of Ravel's *Daphnis and Cloe* and Ralph Vaughan Williams's *Flos Champi*) heard during the opening multiplane pan, the autumn and winter montages, and at various points throughout the film.

Sequence 04.1 "Dawn on the Meadow"*

Churchill's songs and themes for the film's initial quarter were arranged mainly by Steinert and Henderson, who handled the orchestral-choral sections, and by Wolcott, who arranged the purely orchestral passages. Though Plumb assisted on certain parts of this quarter, it is the "Dawn on the Meadow" sequence that first affords prominence to his compositional sound.

After the simple, straightforward melodies

and naturalistic graphics of the preceding "Little April Shower" episode, the music and visuals radically shift gears to instigate a palpable alteration in mood. The "Meadow" sequence opens with a brief transition from the "Raindrops-Storm" as Bambi and his mother pass through the woods to the meadow—Plumb's fluid variation on Churchill's "Walking" theme (take 1) which includes a lovely eight-measure interlude for divided strings (measures 17-24) as Bambi comments on his discovery (from Thumper) that he and his mother are not "the only deer in the forest."

* The sequence numbers refer to sequences in the film. Take numbers refer to individual musical takes within the sequences.

"Interlude" and "Walking" Motif

The musical score is divided into two systems. The first system, measures 17-24, features a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a 2/4 time signature. It includes staves for Violins A-B-C (div.) and Violas, and a Cello. The music consists of sustained chords in the strings, with a dynamic marking of *subito pp* at measure 20. A Viola part enters at measure 24 with a melody marked *(p)*. The second system, measures 25-26, continues the key signature and time signature. It includes staves for Flute (FL.), Clarinet (Clar.), Violins A-B-C, and Cello. The Flute and Clarinet play a melodic line starting at measure 25, with a dynamic marking of *(p)*. The Violins and Cello provide harmonic support, with dynamic markings of *pp* and *p*. A Cello part is also marked *(Pizz.)* at measure 26.

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As the "Walking" theme concludes, Plumb's original scoring now initiates the film's first *real* shift in musical style, the evocation of a new environment both liberating and threatening, a place where, as Bambi's mother urgently explains, the deer are vulnerable and bereft of the forest's shelter. Introduced to a freedom not possible within the confines of the woods, Bambi learns of a facet of life till now unknown within the womblike shelter of his forest existence: fear.

The mother's "Hush now, we're almost there" (voiced under a sustained introductory note in string harmonics; take 1-B) as she cautiously slips onto the meadow to ascertain its safety, cues the shift in mood and style. Here Plumb creates a passage composed more harmonically than melodically, an eerie *mysterioso* of string-scored bitonal major and minor thirds (take 2). These intervals, in themselves so consonant (i.e., *nondissonant*), generate an ominous, charged effect by their being superimposed bitonally (or in two keys at once), much in the same way that Bartók's use of similarly consonant intervals uncovered entirely new tonalities by being combined bitonally in certain of his "Mikrokosmos" piano studies.



"Dawn on the Meadow"

The image shows a musical score for the "Dawn on the Meadow" passage. It consists of four staves. The top staff is for the English Horn (Eng. H.) in treble clef, with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It contains three measures of music, each starting with a whole note and followed by a half note. The notes are G#4, B4, and D#5. The second staff is for two Violins (2 Fl's) in treble clef, with a key signature of one flat (Bb). It contains three measures of music, each starting with a whole note and followed by a half note. The notes are Bb4, Db5, and Fb5. The third staff is for two Cellos (2 Cl's) in bass clef, with a key signature of one flat (Bb). It contains three measures of music, each starting with a whole note and followed by a half note. The notes are Bb2, Db3, and Fb3. The bottom staff is for the Viola in bass clef, with a key signature of one flat (Bb). It contains three measures of music, each starting with a whole note and followed by a half note. The notes are Bb2, Db3, and Fb3. The notes are connected by a large oval, indicating they are sustained throughout the passage.

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The music reinforces the eerie visuals. Via the multiplane camera's backlit effects of soft focus, backgrounds fade into a nebulous blur, with the figures of the two deer barely illumined, though not quite silhouetted, in the foreground, the score weaving its ambience of wary excitement.

To an abrupt passage of skittish brass chords and string runs (take 3), Bambi bolts toward the meadow with reckless abandon, but his way is almost savagely barred by his mother. The music unexpectedly ceases as she carefully explains the situation of deer who venture onto the meadow and their need for constant caution. Sustained close-ups, animated with extreme sensitivity to nuances of expression, delineate Bambi's gradual comprehension that the world of forest and meadow, of water and wind, is not always a safe place.

The mother deer tentatively sniffs the air, her continued foray onto the misty expanse underscored by Plumb's development of materials heard in the initial mysterious passage: bitonally arranged thirds, string harmonics, and solo English horn (takes 4-7).

A sudden flourish of reeds and strings in parallel chords built on the interval of the fourth, depicts the sweep across the frame of a flight of excited birds (take 8, measures 1-6), dispelling unease and signaling the meadow's temporary safety. The hitherto murky color scheme now reverts to the cool, secure greens and blues and rich lighting of the film's opening scenes, and the score's amorphous alternating time signatures—4/4, 7/4, 5/4, 6/4—reflect this alteration of the color field in the shift to a steady, unobtrusively reassuring 3/4 and in a brief statement of Plumb's lyrical autumn motif (measures 7-18). At the motif's conclusion, Alexander Steinert takes over as arranger (measure 25). His lilting development of Churchill's waltz, "I Bring You a Song," courses behind the liberating gambol on the meadow by Bambi and his mother (incidentally providing a frankly Freudian presage of Bambi and Faline's nocturnal meadow courtship to the same music later in the film). The waltz's prominent thirds and fourths supply a harmonic link between Plumb's and Steinert's arrangement (measures 25-78).

Sequence 04.3 "Bambi Meets Faline"

Two narrative episodes follow the meadow waltz: Bambi's meeting with the rabbit family (minus underscoring) and Faline. The latter sequence (04.3) is underscored by a series of eighteen short musical takes (some as brief as one measure of 3/8), coauthored by Churchill and Plumb, arranged by the latter, and based on the scherzolike Faline motif (a holdover from Churchill's preliminary score).

Sequence 04.8 "Galop of the Stags"

The fragmented scherzo of the Bambi-Faline encounters quickly yields to another sustained musical-visual sequence, the "Galop of the Stags," as the male deer of the forest tempestuously invade the meadow. The composition here is solely Churchill's, its stolid eight-measure theme being derived from nothing more than the three notes of a minor triad:

"Galop of the Stags"



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In a way the symmetrical, diatonic motif and its rugged development into a lunging galop can be seen as symbolic of the valorization of patriarchal hierarchy, which is a major subtext of the entire picture. Imitating the lunging bucks, Bambi playfully rears up and charges at Faline, who quickly deserts the premises, leaving Bambi, alone and male, to contemplate the stags' spectacle of masculine braggadocio which makes up the entire musical-visual sequence.

An eight-measure brass fanfare (take A)—in effect a terse statement of the main theme distinctively harmonized in sixth and unresolved suspension chords—introduces the actual "Galop" itself (take 1). Initially stated in F minor, in an aggressive arrangement for three trumpets and three trombones in unison accompanied by a rhythmic figure in the strings, the theme is soon reprised in C major. Climaxing upon its return to the minor mode, the excitingly bombastic "Galop" ritards to a sequential development of another fanfare motif introducing the Great Stag. Scored for full symphonic orchestra with an augmented brass section dominating, the "Galop" was arranged by Sid Fine.

Takes 2 and 3, Steinert's development of Churchill's fanfare motif, underscore the appearance of the Great Stag and his mute meeting with Bambi. Take 4 was composed by Plumb—note the more sophisticated harmonies—and is essentially a modulational bridge leading to a reprise of "Love Is a Song." (Take 4 concludes with Bambi's remark: "He stopped and looked at me.")

Take 5, commencing with Bambi's mother saying "Everyone respects him . . ." as the stag leaves the meadow and ascends into the forest,

is the main title reprised in an eloquent Plumb-Wolcott-Henderson orchestral-choral version. Here we have a concrete example of a *modus operandi* wherein the arranger is not the orchestrator. Plumb's credit as cocomposer here designates that he transcribed Churchill's melody into a heroic crescendo that escalates from a single unaccompanied melody line to the apotheosis of the multivoiced orchestral-choral climax. Wolcott orchestrated it with Henderson handling the important vocal arrangements. A fairly straightforward harmonization of Churchill's sixteen-measure theme, initiated by solo cello (measures 1-6) as Bambi's mother explains the stag's eminence as "Great Prince of the Forest," the arrangement expands into an elegant epiphany for full strings, French horn obligato, and massed seven-part chorus—initially bass and tenor in four parts (measures 1-8) joined by altos (measure 9) and sopranos (measure 10). As the orchestral-choral piece reaches an ecstatic

climax, its stirring diatonic harmonies dissolve into an ominous diminished chord (measures 26-28), which signals the transition to the "Man" motif and sequence 04.9.

Sequence 04.9 "Man in the Meadow"

The warning sounded by Bambi's mother at the opening of the meadow sequence is now justified. Though the actual figure of man is never shown during the course of the film, Disney uses every element of cinema—movement, color, sound, and especially music—to instill the fear of death into both his characters and the audience. One of Plumb's most eruptive developments of Churchill's themes, the section opens with the descending fourth interval on the English horn that usually hovers ominously over three ascending chromatic parallel chords to symbolize man the hunter (measures 1-6).

Descending Fourth "Man" Motif



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Essentially, Churchill's three-chord motif serves as an unvarying ostinato over which Plumb erects an agitated, free-form orchestral toccata illustrating the chaos which ensues on the meadow when the stag, who first senses the presence of man, bolts back to warn the others. Rapid-fire editing conveys the panic and fear, the cool greens and blues of the previous carefree scenes bleeding to harsh red and yellow.

The stricken Bambi loses sight of his mother, and in a breathtaking succession of images the Great Stag (having been subtly established as Bambi's father) sweeps into frame to lead both fawn and doe away from danger. The three fleeing figures are seen in a long shot at the

edge of the meadow, the visual style dissolving toward the abstract. As they lunge toward the safety of the forest, the character-images lose all detail and fade into pale, blank silhouettes, a visually literal metaphor for the figures' dissolution into stark fear.

Plumb's underscoring for these frantic scenes comprises a virtual passacaglia on Churchill's ground-bass "Man" motif. Agitated brass figures, florid runs in reeds, and string tremolo embellish Churchill's simple three-note motif which is repeated unvaryingly over and over (for thirty-two measures!) to the point of hysteria (takes 1 and 2).

Churchill's "Man" Motif

Plumb's Embellishment of Churchill's "Man" Motif

Flutes

Clar.

Coll' 8^{va}

1.4. Tpts.

4. Horns

1.2. Trbs.

3. Trb.

Tuba

Trbs.

Violins

pizz.

Viola

Cello

Add B'oon Bass

11

1. Clar.

6

6

5

2nd Clar.

Fl.

Engl. Horn

Fl. Picc.

Flutter

1 Tpt. muted

Churchill
Plumb

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Scored in two takes, the second commences with an unembellished statement of Churchill's three-note theme, with its droning obligato figure now played by four French horns that swell and subside for seven measures (take 2, measures 1-7), climaxing with a final outburst of Plumb's orchestral pyrotechnics. A cappella gun shots and the receding cries of a flock of crows, the latter a sound effect often associated with the "Man" musical passages, provide a striking coda to the music.

Take 3 provides a tranquil musical coda to the first harrowing "Man" sequence. As Bambi's mother explains that the danger has passed,

Plumb creates a tender variation on the "Man" motif, scored by Wolcott for strings, solo flute, and solo violin. A truly original, sensitive transformation of Churchill's simple motif, its spare linearity, following on the heels of the dense contrapuntal complexity of the preceding "Man" passages, vividly demonstrates Plumb's status as a musician of tremendous range and technique. One of the loveliest takes in the entire score, the exquisite simplicity and restrained emotion of this brief twelve-measure interlude could fit easily among the pages of Ravel's *Mother Goose*.

1. "Man" Motif, Variation of Three-Chord Motive
2. "Man" Motif, Descending Fourth Obligato

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system contains measures 1 through 7. The Flute part (labeled '2.') plays a simple three-note motif. The Solo Violin part (labeled '1.') plays a more complex, flowing line. The string ensemble (I Vlns, II Vlns, Viola, and Cello) provides a harmonic foundation with sustained chords and moving lines. The second system continues the music, showing the interplay between the solo instruments and the strings.

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Among the most accomplished and original sequences in the film from all standpoints—dramatic, visual, and musical—the "Meadow" sequences were directed by James Algar, with Frank Thomas, Ollie Johnston, and Bill Justice as the principal animators.

Conclusion

It is difficult to single out one score from the wealth of musical invention and collective mastery which was lavished on the four original musical masterpieces from Disney's Golden Age of feature animation (excluding, of course, the classically scored *Fantasia*). In keeping with Disney's constant search for the new and different, and his aversion to self-repetition, each score stands as a distinct masterwork in its own right: *Snow White* for its melodic charm; *Pinocchio* for its wit, Old World lyricism, and dissonant power; and *Dumbo* for the sheer exhilaration of its period Pop. But for pure beauty and a sophistication of technique lavished on every aspect of its development into a seamless animated-musical whole, even the marvelous work contained in the three previous films pales before the *Bambi* score's irresistible power to move the listener's emotions. Borrowing from the best and most appealing of early twentieth-century concert influences—Ravel, Prokofiev, and early Stravinsky—*Bambi* owes the least of any of the four scores to popular music trends then current and remains the Disney score least indebted to its time and is, thus, the most timeless.

If, in gearing his film for that mass audience who ever remained the ultimate focus of all his productions, Disney eliminated certain of Salten's allegorical overtones in favor of a falsely idealized, distorted conception of nature that gave human emotions precedence over natural science, he nonetheless supplied a potent dimension of his own: a resonant, mythic substructure, the primal truth of which assures the film an emotional clout that no amount of critical rationalizing can negate. *Pinocchio* and *Dumbo* both flirted with certain experiences basic to the human species, particularly those related to the dawning awareness of human actuality. *Bambi* extended these thematic flirtations quite a few steps further in order to simulate a child's gradual realization of *la condition humaine*: an anthropomorphized introduction to the facts of life, so to speak. It is this universal validity, along with the film's "cuteness" and humor that ensure *Bambi* its immense power, appeal, and durability. (One might be forgiven for suspecting that Disney's version of nature, though er-



Edward Plumb also scored the "Forest Fire" and its aftermath, but here the balance between music and visuals maintained throughout the film is somewhat stacked on the side of the music. Though the fire sequence generates moments of great impact, its visuals cannot always match the crackling momentum of Plumb's brilliant scoring. Though the musico-visual balance is reestablished in the fire's climactic shots (which includes an awesome aerial multiplane pan as the Great Stag and Bambi leap to safety over the brink of a huge waterfall), the fire sequence as a whole would, one suspects, be greatly diminished in impact if deprived of its accutely augmenting musical underlay. Copyright © 1942 Walt Disney Productions. World Rights Reserved.

roneous, is one which many members of the audience subconsciously or secretly favor, preferring "life as it should be" to nature's actual, implacable system of checks and balances.)

To appreciate and understand the essence of *Bambi*'s achievement, it is necessary to hold doubts about verisimilitude to nature in abeyance. Considered as a rhapsodic tone poem on the cycle of the seasons, as a shimmering fantasy

evocation of nature, and as a perceptive study of Everychild's often traumatic journey to self-hood and human awareness, *Bambi* is sublime. And rarely in any medium have these subjects been accorded a more expressive, precise celebration than in the threads of tenderness and trauma, of lyricism and violence, that Disney and his accomplished musical staff collectively wove into the stunning and timeless musical tapestry that is the *Bambi* score.

Ross B. Care is a composer, arranger, and pianist who resides in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He has done film scores for *Crepe Flower* (1972), *Otto Messmer and Felix the Cat* (1976; screened on the BBC as well as in the States), *Byron B. Black Bear and the Scientific Method* (1980; winner, Second Prize, Best Sound Track, ASIFA-East Film Festival, New York City), *The Wizard's Son* (1981; all-musical animated), *Bottom's Dream* (1983; animated). He has composed music for the following theatrical works: *The Pooh Revue* (1979; children's musical), *Through the Looking Glass* (1974 and 1980, musical play), and incidental music for productions of *Camino Real* (1969), and *Tennessee Williams Tonight* (1971). His concert works have been performed since 1963; among them are "Suite Française for Flute and Strings" (1973), "The Sacred Harp: Three Transcriptions for Chorus, Viola, Cello, and Harp" (1979), "A Song for St. Cecilia's Day: Festival Piece for Chorus, Brass, Percussion, Organ, and Piano" (1980), and "Chamber Music: Songs to Poems of James Joyce for Voice and Piano" (1982).

Among his writing credits are articles in various British and American journals on music and animation at the Walt Disney Studio, the film music of Leigh Harline, and Ken Russell.

Under a grant from the Pennsylvania Arts Council, Mr. Care was Composer-in-Residence for Children's Heart Hospital in Philadelphia for the 1981-1982 school year. During the summer of 1982 he studied composition and performance in Siena, Italy. He is currently engaged in free-lance film scoring, recording, and writing and (with librettist Charles Leayman) is working on a one-act chamber opera, "An Imaginative Woman," from a short story by Thomas Hardy.

The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of James Algar, Wilfred Jackson, Charles Leayman, Jon Newsom, John Onofrey, David Smith, and Frank Thomas in the preparation of this article.

NOTES

1. *Bambi*, Pressbook, 1966 rerelease: p. 6, "Walt Disney's *Bambi* Is an Untalky Talkie."

2. Walt Disney Studio story conference transcripts, October 24, 1940.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Disneyland Record, WDL-4010. The now out-of-print record was part of the excellent Disneyland Records 4000 series which featured the first extended original sound track recordings of the animated feature music with both songs and generous portions of the background scoring. (Original sound track recordings of the songs had been released on RCA Victor 78 sets in the 1940s. These differed from the Disneyland 4000 series in that they included dialogue excerpts over the music as well.)

The 4000 series was first issued circa the mid-1950s, but by 1959 most had been discontinued. (*Sleeping Beauty*, WDL-4018, was probably the last score issued in the series.) The classic animated sound tracks were (by 1539) transferred to the Disneyland children's DQ series in which they are still available today, however, minus much of the background orchestral scoring. In the case of *Bambi* in particular, the loss is an unfortunate one. Considering the quality of the score, a reissue of the complete 4010 tracks, or even a new, even more complete recording would be very much in order.

7. ASCAP press biography.

8. It is instructive to compare any of Churchill's simple tunes to Leigh Harline's "When You Wish Upon a Star," from *Pinocchio*. Harline's standard features a range of nearly an octave and a half, extremely sophisticated chord changes, and harmonic progressions which evolve directly out of the song's melodic structure, the latter as sophisticated as anything in Gershwin. It is an extremely difficult song to fake.

A studio press release (*Pinocchio*, Pressbook, 1971 rerelease: p. 4, "Two Oscars for *Pinocchio*") notes that Disney was ultimately not satisfied with the final score to *Pinocchio*, but when it nonetheless won two Oscars, for Best Song and Best Score, Disney reportedly commented: "Maybe it's not as bad as I thought it was." Harline left Disney's shortly after the completion of *Pinocchio* to free-lance at a number of studios, among them RKO, 20th, and MGM; he never worked at the Disney Studio again, however. Ironically, his song became the theme for Disney's television shows and the Disney signature tune in general.

9. One must assume the preliminary score is just that, the demanding assignment of assembling a complete rough-draft score for a feature-length film in more-or-less a year's time. But the composer's strengths and limitations are nonetheless clearly verified by the transformation of style revealed by comparison of the rough to the final score. It would be impossible for a composer to progress from the naive construction manifest throughout the 1938 draft to the polished technical sophistication of the final 1942 score in a little more than three years.

Fittings and Fixtures

Miscellaneous Americana in Historic American Buildings Survey Photographs

BY DENYS PETER MYERS

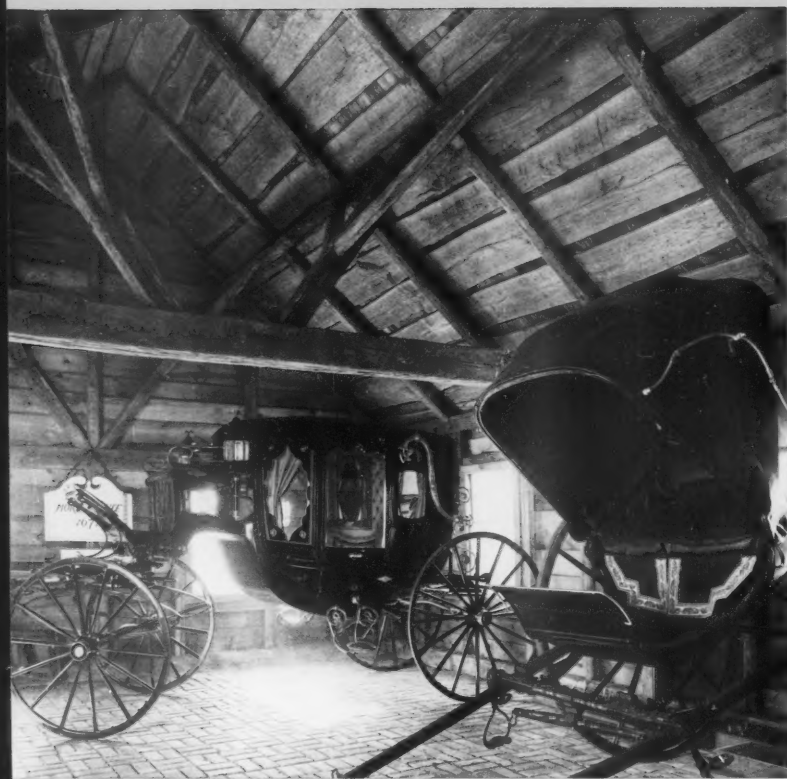


Two-horse sleigh with coachman and footman in livery and an unidentified woman riding in it, presumably at Springwood, Hyde Park, Dutchess County, New York. This historical photograph was incidentally copied together with other family photographs when a HABS team recorded the Franklin Delano Roosevelt House in the summer of 1941. The site is now the Franklin Delano Roosevelt National Historic Site.

(HABS NY-4, HABS NY, 14-HYP, 5-)

After fifty years of documenting historic buildings and structures in the United States, the Historic American Buildings Survey is celebrating a significant anniversary. During the last half century, it has documented more than sixteen thousand historic buildings in record photographs, measured drawings, and narrative descriptions, and work continues today. Established in 1933 as a relief measure during the Great Depression, the survey was joined in 1969 by the Historic American Engi-

neering Record. To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of this cooperative project involving the American Institute of Architects, the National Park Service of the U.S. Department of the Interior, and the Library of Congress, which is the repository for the materials created, the Library is publishing *Historic America*, a checklist of the buildings, sites, and structures documented through 1982. One of the illustrated essays included in that book, to be published later this year, is presented here.



Carriage shed, Morris House, New Haven, New Haven County, Connecticut. The Morris House was given to the New Haven Colony Historical Society by its last private occupants, the Pardee family. The coach in the carriage shed has therefore been attributed to the New Haven carriage-making firm of Lawrence, Bradley & Pardee. The carriage is, however, unmistakably number 104 in the 1860 catalog of G. & D. Cook & Company—the Hamilton Coach. The gig in the foreground is shown in the same catalog as a Boston chaise. The Hamilton Coach has silver-plated hardware and space for two footmen behind. It is as elaborate a carriage as was ever made in America. A decade earlier the coachman's box would probably have been concealed by a lavishly trimmed hammercloth like the one on the Saltonstall coach in the Smithsonian Institution, but by 1860 hammercloths were obsolescent. The Hamilton Coach pictured is now on loan to the Eli Whitney Museum in New Haven.

Photograph by James Rainey, 1937.
(HABS CONN, 5-NEWH, 8A-1)

It takes more than a week to give even a fleeting glance to the thousands of photographs in the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) Collection in the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress. Anyone who looks through the entire HABS photograph collection, however hastily, is almost certain to be lured astray into fascinating byways unconnected with the principal subject of his or her research. Delightful surprises, as well as occasional disappointments, wait there for the researcher even faintly interested in Americana.

My primary purpose in looking through the multitudinous loose-leaf binders containing HABS photographs was to find illustrations of nineteenth-century lighting fixtures in their original settings. In all, I noted almost three hundred pictures of lighting fixtures—as distinct from movable lighting devices—but every so often other fixtures, such as plumbing, heating, and hardware, were of such interest that they fairly



An illustration of the Hamilton Coach from the G. & D. Cook & Company catalog originally published in 1860. From *G. & D. Cook & Co.'s Illustrated Catalogue of Carriages and Special Business Advertiser* (reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1970).



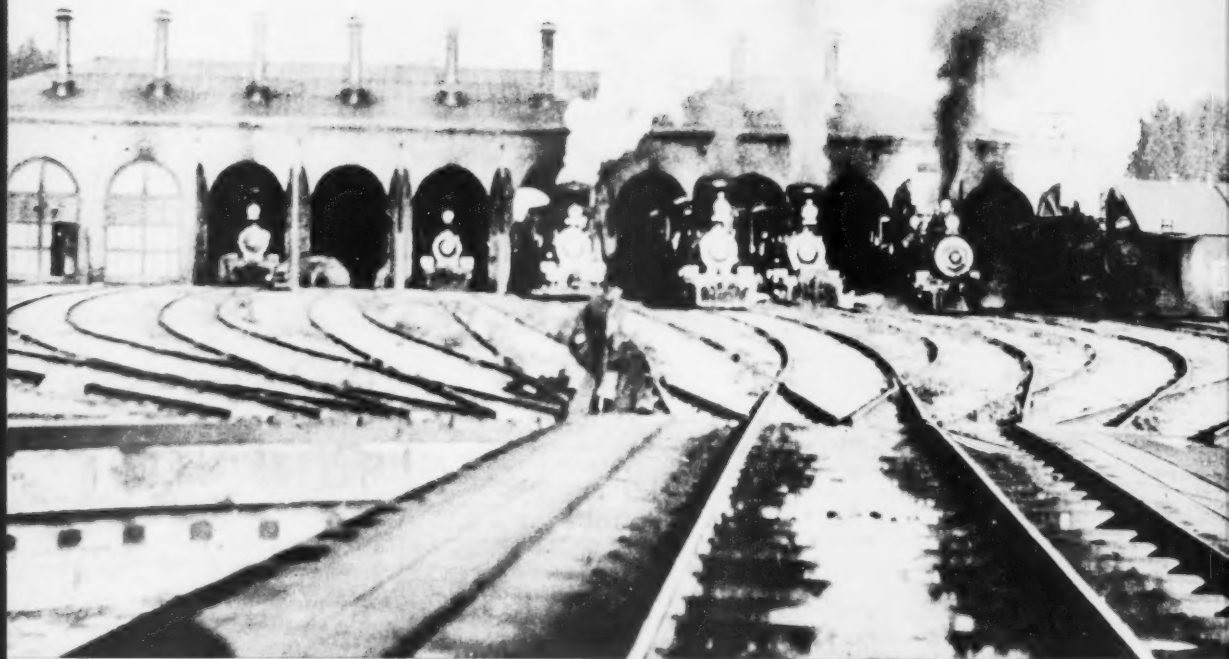
begged for attention. Occasionally, decorative features were so outstanding that I could not pass them by. And although I was not specifically seeking them, photographs that illustrated such widely diverse subjects as Victorian domestic furniture and wheeled vehicles turned out to be so beguiling that they compelled my notice.

To begin with the most unexpected surprise of all, I must mention a particularly fine nineteenth-century carriage recorded by the survey. A 1937 interior photograph of the carriage shed of the Morris House, a property of the New Haven Colony Historical Society now known as the Pardee-Morris House, shows a resplendent "Hamilton Coach." It is clearly illustrated in the 1860 catalog of the New Haven coachmaker G. & D. Cook & Company and was listed as the firm's most expensive model, priced at \$1,200 in an age when laborers were paid a dollar a day.

Other wheeled contrivances in HABS photographs that are of interest include an ancient

Manager's house and original station-hotel, destroyed in 1918, of the Cheyenne-Black Hills Stage Line, Chugwater, Platte County, Wyoming, now part of the Swan Land and Cattle Company. This station was in the first division of the Cheyenne-Black Hills State and Express Line, and the team of four appears ready to pull out a Concord-type coach driven by one George Lathrop, accompanied by an unidentified sharpshooter and a female passenger holding an anxious white puppy.

Photocopy of an 1884 photograph. (HABS WYO-71, HABS WYO, 16-CHUGW, 1-3)



Virginia and Truckee Railroad Roundhouse, Carson City, Ormsby County, Nevada. The Virginia and Truckee Railroad operated nineteenth-century steam locomotives and wooden passenger coaches until it ceased operations in 1950. The roundhouse was constructed between 1872 and 1874. The Virginia and Truckee ran between Virginia City, Nevada, and Truckee, California. It was one of the most famous short line railroads in the world during the 1870s when it carried the immense wealth of silver produced by the Comstock Lode. The antique rolling stock has starred in numerous motion pictures.

HABS photograph, 1939. (HABS NEV, 13-CARCI, 6-3)



Dining room door detail, Governor Henry Lippitt House, Providence, Providence County, Rhode Island. The splendidly finished Lippitt House was designed by Henry Childs and erected between 1862 and 1865. It retains its original fittings and much of its original furniture. The black walnut and curly maple dining room doors contain lavishly ornamented etched-glass panels and are fitted with silver-plated hardware. Deer, a favorite motif in mid-nineteenth-century dining rooms, appear on the carved black walnut built-in sideboard and on the bronze gas chandelier as well as on the glass door panels. One of Sir Edwin Landseer's paintings may have been the source for this etched-glass vignette. His *Monarch of the Glen* and *Stag at Bay* were two of the most frequently reproduced paintings of the last century.

Photograph by Laurence E. Tilley, 1958. (HABS RI, 4-PROV, 136-28)

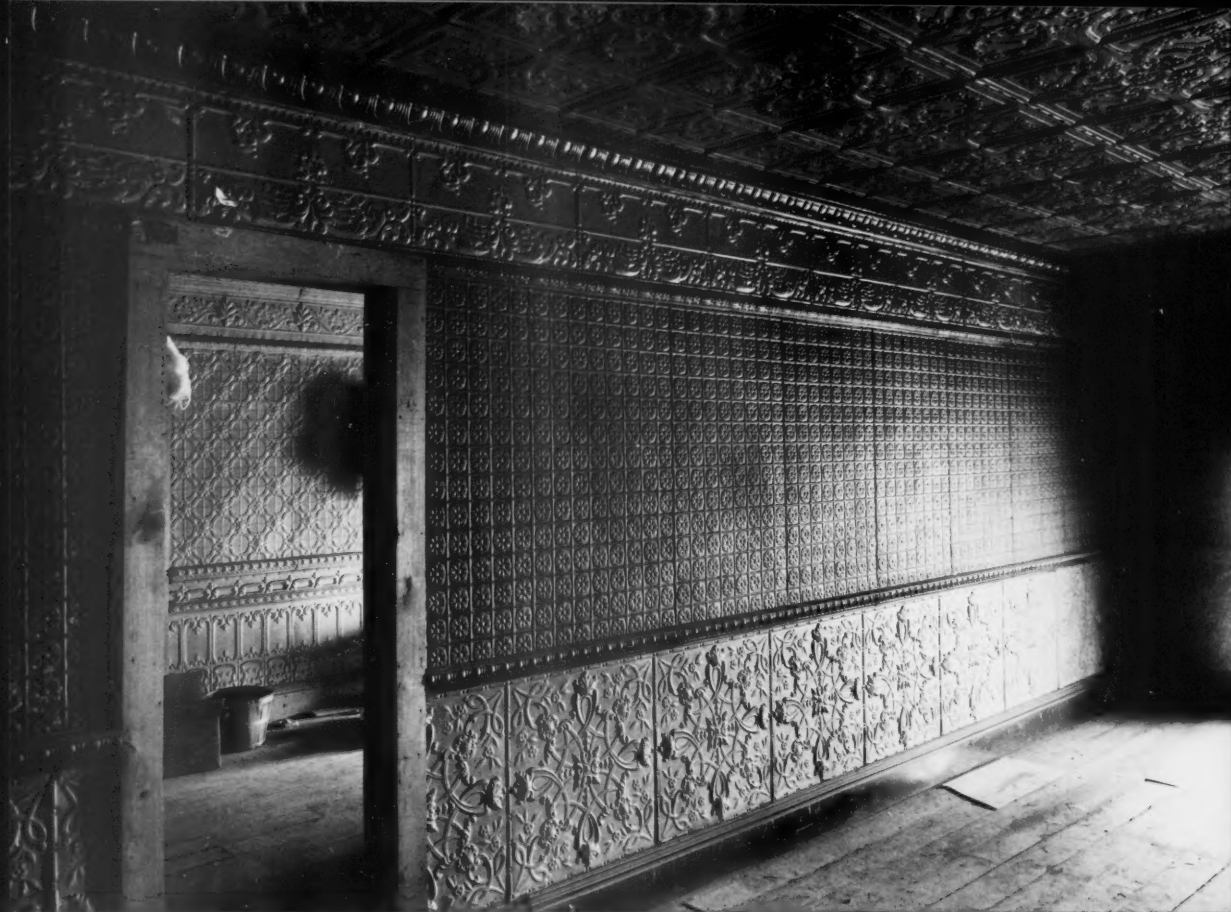
wheelbarrow at the Major Isaac Foster House at Manchester, Massachusetts, a wooden hand truck at the Sweetland Store in Wyoming, Pennsylvania, a later hand truck at the Union Pacific Station in Cheyenne, Wyoming, and a Concord stagecoach in a HABS copy of a nineteenth-century photograph of Chugwater, Wyoming. Nor should one forget the handsome sleigh at Springwood, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's house, in Hyde Park, New York. The most impressive of all nineteenth-century wheeled contrivances—the steam locomotive—is well represented by six iron horses in the roundhouse of the Virginia and Truckee Railroad in Carson City, Nevada.

In interior views, HABS photographs record eye-catching decorative features of buildings. I found, for instance, a few examples of etched-glass door panels, of which those in the Governor Henry Lippitt House in Providence, Rhode Island, were the most outstanding. Other details, such as wallpapers or carpets—for which the color was lost in black-and-white photographs—were not frequently captured. One wallpaper at least should be mentioned, however, as it is a rare example called "Décor Chasse et Pêche" or "Renaissance," first issued by S. Lapeyre in 1847 and later by Jules Desfossé. It adorns the parlor of the Thomas Jefferson Southard House of 1855, recently a Russian Orthodox home for the aged, in Richmond, Maine. Numerous churches of the 1840s and 1850s and meeting halls, such as the Masonic Temple of 1878 in Belfast, Maine, contain architectural frescoes executed in illusionistic grisaille. Both ceilings and walls of the "Sig" Sawtelle Circus Training House (also known as the George Satterly House) in Homer, New York, are sheathed in stamped metal, one of the least usual of all wall treatments. At the other end of the decorative gamut is the parlor of the Francis J. Dewes House of 1894-96 in Chicago, later the Swedish Engineers' Society. That parlor is one of the very few—perhaps the only—example in America of a kind of Wilhelmine baroque-rococo style. It was a style more characteristic of Norddeutscher-Lloyd Line ships of the 1890s than of residential interiors in the United States. A Hungarian-born architect, Arthur Hercz, who was trained in Vienna, confected it for the brewer Francis Dewes.



South wall of the library, Thomas Jefferson Southard House, Richmond, Sagadahoc County, Maine. An Italianate mansion, the Southard House was built in 1855. The elaborately appointed parlor is papered in a splendid sharp blue, golden brown, white, and gold paper on a soft gray field. One of the most spectacular French panel sets, this pattern was designed in 1846 by an artist named Wagner and first issued by S. Lapeyre in 1847. It was reissued by Jules Desfossé in 1859-60. Another set survives in a house in Portland, Maine. The Southard parlor is further enriched by a lavishly carved white marble mantelpiece and an ormolu chandelier by the Philadelphia gas fixture firm of Cornelius and Baker. The house is now the St. Alexander Nevsky Foundation, a Russian Orthodox geriatric home established by a Romanov princess.

Photograph by Dwight R. Sturgis, 1971.
(HABS ME-149, HABS ME, 12-RICH, 2-9)



Interior detail, tin sheathing on walls and ceiling, of the Sig Sautelle Circus Training House (also known as the George Satterly House), Homer, Cortland County, New York. This octagonal structure was built in 1902 for George Satterly (1850-1928), a circus owner. Satterly's family occupied the first two floors, and the third floor was a training area for acrobats. Satterly adopted the stage name Signor Sautelle—evidently pronounced sig-nor, as his friends called him Sig. He started his circus in 1875 and eventually sold his enterprise to a Barnum affiliate in 1904. The training house had become a restaurant by 1964.

Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, 1966.
(HABS NY, 12-HOM, 2-4)

Hardware, an often overlooked incidental to architecture, can also be studied in the photographs. Curiously, only a single window latch appears ever to have been photographed by the survey. That lone example is a rare casement latch dating from around 1800 in the Stephen Girard Country House in Philadelphia. Door hardware, however, does appear with fair frequency, as in the knob, escutcheon plate, and latch plate of an Eastlake pattern in the Fremont School of 1890 in Salt Lake City. Among other curious and rare miscellaneous bits of hardware is an hourglass holder, probably dating from about 1730, in the Rocky Hill Meeting House at Amesbury, Massachusetts. A fire alarm signal panel of 1894 was photographed in the City Hall and Opera House at Bozeman, Montana. And a fine set of old scales appears in photographs of the Elisha Atherton Coray Mill in Exeter Township, Pennsylvania. A considerable

amount of early cast-iron street furniture and other exterior ironwork was photographed in Boston and Chicago, and even more was recorded in Mobile, Alabama. Oddly enough, the photographic representation of ironwork in New Orleans is decidedly skimpy, but HABS measured drawings remedy the deficiency. A highly unusual piece of street furniture, an elaborate masonry mounting block, stands on Government Street in Mobile, Alabama.

The HABS photographs provide some data on nineteenth-century plumbing fixtures, although opportunities were missed because such material was not considered interesting until relatively recently. The change in shower baths from the rather primitive contraption in the unspoiled mid-Victorian bathroom of the David Davis Mansion of 1872 in Bloomington, Illinois, to the complex gadget of 1892 in the Iverson Mansion (Laramie Plains Museum) at Laramie, Wyoming, is well illustrated in two revealing photographs. Other examples of past plumbing may be seen in the bathroom of the Welch-Ross House in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The kitchen of the General Dodge House, in Council Bluffs, Iowa, displays a marble sink. The molded china commode set on a marble base in the James Whitcomb Riley House combines ornament with use.

Heating devices, both movable and fixed, are well represented in HABS photographs. Kitchen ranges, like the splendid example in the William A. Farnsworth Homestead in Rockland, Maine, are numerous and deserve a separate study. Movable heating stoves are illustrated by examples such as the elegant Gothic parlor stove of 1851 in the Dr. Alfred Paige House built in Bethel, Vermont, in 1833. The very fine parlor stove in the King House, photographed in 1932 in Virginia City, Nevada, and the stove dated 1883 by the Chicago Stove Works in St. Andrew's Episcopal Church in Atlantic City, Wyoming, are other examples of stoves not for cooking. Steam or hot water radiators are stunningly represented by the grille-shielded example surmounted by an *étagère* in the dining room dating from 1864 at Lyndhurst at Tarrytown, New York, as well as less grandly but more typically by a late nineteenth-century cast-iron radiator in the Townsend House of 1835 in Windsor, Vermont.

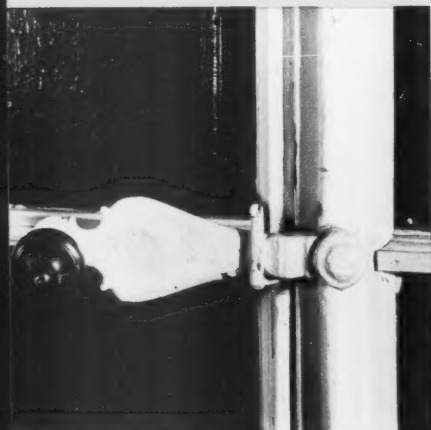
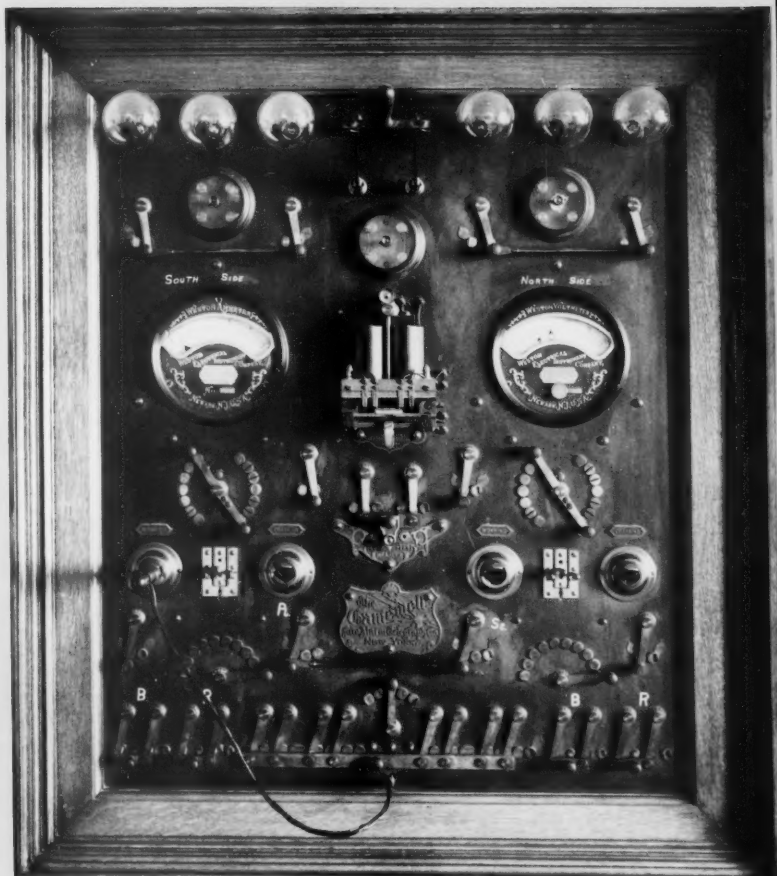
Parlor (seen from the entrance vestibule, looking northeast) of the Francis J. Dewes House, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois. The parlor of this beer baron's mansion is almost manic in its ostentation. The swirling neorococo forms are far more heavy than their eighteenth-century prototypes. The Watteauesque ceiling painting is the most charming feature of the room. There are unintentionally comic touches, such as the putto in the center of the picture, who seems about to make an impolite gesture, and the resigned expression of the caryatid at the left. The room was intended to overwhelm—and it succeeds.

Photograph by Harold Allen, 1964.
(HABS ILL., 16-CHIG, 45-3)



Fire alarm panel of 1894, City Hall and Opera House, Bozeman, Gallatin County, Montana. The Bozeman City Hall and Opera House was built in 1887-90 to house the general city offices, city jail, and fire station on the first floor, a civic auditorium or opera house on the second floor, and rental offices on both floors. The building was designed by Byron Vreeland, a local architect who died in 1889. Architect George Hancock altered the original design and supervised the completion of the building. In 1916 the name of the Opera House was changed to Municipal Theater. The building was demolished in 1966. The presence of a fire station in the multipurpose structure accounts for the fire alarm panel. It was thoroughly up-to-date equipment when it was installed in 1894.

Photograph by Al Huntsman, 1965.
(HABS MONT, 16-BOZ, 1-12)



Window latch, central room, first floor, north wall, Stephen Girard Country House, Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania. Casement windows are rare in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century American buildings. This window latch is of a distinctly European type. Possibly Stephen Girard's French antecedents explain his preference for casements rather than a double-hung sash.

Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, 1962.
(HABS PA, 51-PHILA, 226-21)



Classroom doorknob, Fremont School, Salt Lake City, Salt Lake County, Utah. The Fremont School was designed by Henry Monheim and built in 1890. A *Salt Lake Tribune* article published on January 1, 1891, stated: "The finest structure ever erected in this city for educational purposes is the fourteenth district school building built the past year." Elaborately ornamented brass hardware cast by the *cire perdue* (lost wax) process was standard from the 1870s until after the turn of the century. Similar hardware patterns were stock items in the mail order catalogs of Sears Roebuck and Montgomery Ward.

Photograph by P. Kent Fairbanks, 1967.
(HABS UTAH, 18-SALCI, 7-9)

Because mantelpieces were almost invariably included among interior views, fireplaces of all periods are abundantly represented. An unusually attractive cast-iron fire frame was photographed in the Nettie Thompson House in Georgetown, Ohio. I was surprised to come upon a photograph of a cast-iron mantelpiece with églomisé glass spandrel panels in the Houseman Residence of 1850, demolished in 1934 in Montgomery, Alabama, that proved to be identical with a pair of mantelpieces in my own former home, built in 1859 at 17 Clinton Street in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Among the great number of notable mantelpieces recorded, one that particularly struck my fancy was the grand example with a glass mosaic overmantel in the Magerstadt House of 1906-8 in Chicago.

Interior photographs taken by the survey during the 1930s often yield unexpected information about the past. They reveal survivals such as the carpets in the King House in Virginia City, Nevada, or painted window shades like those in the Blakely Plantation near Vicksburg, Mississippi, and in Malmaison near Carrollton, Mississippi. Since the 1930s, such furnishings have altogether vanished or become exceedingly rare.

The early HABS photographs are invaluable, too, for establishing the original condition of subsequently restored properties. For example, Sturdevant Hall, a fine 1850 house in Alabama, has been supposedly improved by having its soft pine hall floor replaced by elaborate marble and its original gilded gas chandeliers replaced by crystal fixtures of an eighteenth-century type. The double parlors the crystal fixtures now illuminate have been painted anachronistic Wedgewood blue with white trim! It is most unfortunate that similarly mistreated Natchez, Mississippi, interiors were not photographed during the 1930s while they were still pristine.

Early HABS photographs frequently show lighting fixtures that had survived from the nineteenth century. The gas candle brackets in the Decatur House hall in Washington, D.C., appear in a photograph that shows Victorian frescoes dating from around 1870 when the Beale family bought the house. The frescoes are now obliterated. Many restored houses, for ex-

Carriage block on Government Street, Mobile, Mobile County, Alabama. Such elaborate stone mounting blocks are rare examples of street furniture. It is not clear whether this one was erected at private or municipal expense. The style of the carving suggests a date in the third quarter of the last century. The height of the platform indicates that the block was designed for mounting horses rather than carriages.

Photograph by W. N. Manning, 1934.
(HABS ALA, 49-MOBI, 37A-1)



ample, the Richardson-Owens-Thomas House of 1816-19 in Savannah, Georgia, once had mid-nineteenth-century gas fixtures. The original condition of fixtures that were later electrified may also often be ascertained from photographs, as, for instance, in those of the Shrewsbury House in Madison, Indiana.

With increasing frequency, copies of nineteenth-century interior photographs are included in HABS records. These provide documentation of furnishings and fixtures that is not otherwise readily obtainable. Citing even a few of these will show their varied subject matter. Copies of photographs dating from 1869 show the interior of St. John's Episcopal Church in Washington, D.C., before James Renwick's enlargement in 1883 altered the east end. Photographs of Chicago's Rookery Building before Frank Lloyd Wright's alterations show the original main stairway. The original lighting fixtures and stenciled ornamentation of the United States Branch Mint in San Francisco are visible in early photographs, too. Old photographs of the now-



Original vitreous bathroom fixture, James Whitcomb Riley House, Indianapolis, Marion County, Indiana. The Riley House was completed by 1872. Water was originally pumped from cisterns in the backyard to attic tanks. The bathroom fixtures are original. The water closet is china with a molded leaf pattern and is set on a marble slab within the carpeted floor. The seat and tank, which has a crystal chain pull, are cherry. The lavatory has an oval china basin, a marble top and backsplash set on a cherry cabinet with raised molded panels outlining a door, and a tier of three drawers. The taps are brass. The copper-lined bathtub is enclosed in tongue-and-groove cherry wainscoting, and the whole room has similar wainscoting below red wallpaper with a floral pattern. The ceiling paper is white. The red carpet has a pattern of yellow and blue.

Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, 1970.
(HABS IND, 49 IND, 8-18)

Shower stall, Iverson Mansion (now the Laramie Plains Museum), Laramie, Albany County, Wyoming. Edward Iverson, mayor of Laramie and unsuccessful candidate for governor of Wyoming in 1892, was a prosperous banker. His mansion was built in 1892 from plans by the Salt Lake City architect E. Waring. House and furniture cost \$40,000, a considerable sum in 1892. The shower, which sprays inward from all pipes, was purchased in Chicago and was the most up-to-date plumbing equipment available.

Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, 1974.
(HABS WYO, 1-LARAM, 2-22)



Bathroom, David Davis Mansion, Bloomington, McLean County, Illinois. The house was built in 1870-72 from plans by Alfred H. Piquenard for Judge David Davis. Davis was a legal and political associate of Abraham Lincoln, a member of the U.S. Supreme Court (1862-77), and a U.S. Senator (1877-83). George McIntosh was the plumbing contractor. The painted china wash basin set in marble and the metal-lined wood-encased bathtub are typical of their period. Water pumped manually from the basement to an attic tank and distributed by gravity supplied the extant original faucets of the washstand, tub, and shower. The house is now a museum of nineteenth-century living.

Illinois State Historical Library photograph.
(HABS ILL, 57-BLOOM, 2-7)

demolished Valentine-Fuller House of 1848 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, show furniture purchased in 1860 as well as gas fixtures probably by Henry N. Hooper and Company. Photographs dating from the turn of the century of the James Whitcomb Riley House, built about 1866-72 in Indianapolis, show only minor differences from present conditions. This distinguishes the Riley House from house museums where modern canons of taste have been, however subconsciously, imposed. Among the photocopies, those showing the Stanford-Lathrop Memorial Home in Sacramento, California, as it was refurnished by the Leland Stanfords around 1872 are outstanding for the data they supply.

Let us now consider lighting fixtures, which started out to be the subject of my inquiry.

Gas lighting got an early start in the United States with the establishment of a chartered gas company in Baltimore in 1817. By 1840 there were 11 gas companies in America, and by 1850, 51 companies had been chartered. By 1863, there were 433 gas companies in the United States and 23 in Canada. By 1876, every American community larger than a village had its own gas company, and many country estates in places too small to support a gas company had private gas plants.

After Edison established the first central power station, the Pearl Street Station in New York, in 1882, electric lighting made slow progress because the Welsbach burner, or gas mantle, first manufactured commercially in 1887, made incandescent gas lighting competitive with electric lighting. The older open-flame burners were rendered obsolete not only by electric bulbs but also by Welsbach's mantles, which permitted gas to retain its lead as an illuminant into the present century.

Except for those in a very few colonial churches, I found no eighteenth-century chandeliers in their original settings. Almost all had been installed during restorations or refurnishings. There were, however, a few fine early nineteenth-century fixtures recorded in situ, the most notable of which hung in the Greek revival ballroom of the Croghan House, built about 1835 in Pittsburgh. It was later installed in the University of Pittsburgh's Cathedral of Learning.



Stove, King House, Virginia City, Storey County, Nevada. This Jewel Stove appears to date from the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Its ornately scrolled design includes mica windows—colloquially called isinglass—in its door. Those windows restored some of the missing cheerfulness of the “discarded good old fireplace” by making the fire visible. The long stovepipe helped to radiate heat.

Photograph by Robert W. Kerrigan, 1937. (HABS NEV, 15-VIRG, 28-4)

The splendid empire chandelier was probably imported, not an American artifact. The prism-hung chandelier in the eighteenth-century west parlor of Belmont Hall in Smyrna, Delaware, however, is almost certainly American and appears to date from about 1835-45. A similar example hangs in Andrew Jackson's back parlor at The Hermitage in Davidson County, Tennessee, and yet another, fitted for oil lamps instead of candles, in the William B. Sappington House near Arrow Rock, Missouri. A fine example with six gas burners hung in the now-vanished Nolt-ing House in Richmond, Virginia. This type, with ormolu finish and tiers of diminishing rings of prisms surrounding the stem, went out of fashion before gas became very common.

In my quest for illustrations of lighting fixtures, I found that places of worship yielded the most information of any building type except dwellings. The large brass chandelier in St. Paul's Episcopal Church of 1707 in Wickford, Rhode Island, appears to be original, as does the fine pair in Trinity Church, built in Newport in 1726. The splendid set of five chandeliers in the Touro Synagogue of 1763 in Newport, Rhode Island, are likewise original. The great glass chandelier, now discreetly electrified, in the First Baptist Meeting House of 1775 in Providence, Rhode Island, is original and was formerly flanked by four eight-light gas chandeliers dating from around 1850. The grand glass chandelier in the United Church of 1815 in New Haven is also original and is not electrified. All of these chandeliers (except the First Baptist Meeting House gas fixtures) were imported.

Numerous large and handsome chandeliers fitted for oil lamps existed in churches when HABS photographs were taken during the 1930s. Among the excellent examples are the two-tiered chandelier in the Presbyterian Church at Pisgah, Kentucky, and that in Zion Church near Columbia, Tennessee. The latter blends Eastlake and *néo-grec* details in an eclectic *mélange*. An even grander post-Civil-War oil chandelier is the three-tiered example that a HABS photographer found hanging in the Dutch Reformed Church in Millstone, New Jersey. Among later recordings, two of the handsomest church chandeliers are the examples, from about 1845-50, each with eight lamps (now electrified), in the First Parish

Church, Unitarian, in Kennebunk, Maine. Four four-light gas chandeliers, similar in style to the Kennebunk examples, are suspended by brackets from the side galleries of the Beneficent Congressional Church in Providence, Rhode Island. Small gas chandeliers suspended from the wall by brackets were called *toilets*, as they were intended to hang beside dressing tables to illuminate their looking glasses. A very fine six-light gas chandelier, now fitted with electric candles instead of glass-shaded bulbs, is in the Oliver Hazard Perry House, built about 1845 in Southport, Connecticut. It belongs to the same neo-rococo type with ornamental chains as the Kennebunk and Providence examples. By the mid-1850s, the chains common to such chandeliers were considered *passé*.

The only examples found in the survey of reflector chandeliers, a type widely used after the Civil War in places of public assembly, were those in churches. In the Methodist Church in Forkland, Alabama, and in the Congregational Church in Rocky Hill, Connecticut, hung typical examples. The Congregational Church chandelier was photographed from above. Reflector fixtures used mirror-lined shades to throw light down where it was needed. The Oahe Congregational Mission in Pierre, South Dakota, had a three-light oil chandelier in which the turn-of-the-century lamps were designed on a new principle to project their light downward.

Gas standards—that is, fixtures rising from the floor or a flat raised surface to support one or more burners—appear in photographs of church interiors more frequently than elsewhere. The St. Thomas Reformed Church of 1846 at Charlotte Amalie in the Virgin Islands was lighted by gas standards on the pew ends. The First Parish Church in Castleton, Vermont, has a pair of two-light pulpit standards now electrified. And Trinity Church in Southport, Connecticut, contains a striking pair of brass chancel candelabra similar to those designed for gas. The Alexander House, a dwelling of the federal period located in Springfield, Massachusetts, has an extremely rare pair of gas mantelpiece standards. Most standards in private houses appear on newel posts. The newel post standard in the General Dodge House in Council



Stove in the northeast bedroom on the second floor of the Dr. Alfred Paige House, Bethel, Windsor County, Vermont. The Dr. Alfred Paige House reflects the continuous ownership of one family through four generations. The house was built in 1833, but during the 1850s a notable cast-iron stove made in Troy, New York, and patented in 1851 replaced the fireplace in the northeast bedroom. Mark Twain, in the chapter titled "The House Beautiful" in his *Life on the Mississippi* referred to a "Polished air-tight stove (new and deadly invention), with pipe passing through a board which closes up the discarded good old fireplace." By 1883, when that was written, Mark Twain thought of fireplaces with nostalgia, but pragmatic Vermonters, coping with their winters, did not share his sentiment. This highly ornamental Gothic stove was probably designed for a parlor, not a bedroom. The urn finial is a water vase to humidify the atmosphere. The Paige House now has central heating as well as two first-floor soapstone fireplaces and another cast-iron stove in a plain, severe style made by R. and J. Wainwright of Middlebury, Vermont. That stove dates from the building of the house.

Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, 1959.
(HABS VT, 14-BETH, 1-8)



Stove in St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Atlantic City, Fremont County, Wyoming. Atlantic City was founded in 1868 to serve the South Pass mining district. The population soon rose to 2,000, but by 1870 it had dropped to 325. This Ajax Stove in the Episcopal church was made by the Chicago Stove Works in 1883. It is of the simplest possible kind and could be used for either heating or cooking. It may be assumed that in the boom-and-bust economy of the mining area St. Andrew's wardens and vestry were not willing to risk indebtedness for a fancier stove. This stove differs little in general appearance from plain box stoves of the 1830s.

Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, 1974.
(HABS WYO, 7-ATCI, 5-4)

Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, 1971.
(HABS NY, 60-TARY, 1A-63)



Photograph by E. F. Schrand and
A. Hofmann, 1936. (HABS OHIO,
8-GEOTO V, 1-6)

**An advertisement for Gold's Patent
Steam Heating Apparatus in G. & D.
Cook & Co.'s Illustrated Catalogue of
Carriages and Special Business
Advertiser (1860; reprint, New York:
Dover Publications, 1970).**



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FIG. 3.—Straightfront Screen for Parlors, Drawing Rooms, etc.

The above are a few of the many references that might be added; for a more particular description, see a descriptive pamphlet, which will be sent to any address, or given on application at either of the Offices, No. 58 Fulton St., Brooklyn, N. Y., or 88 State St., New Haven, Conn.

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SEE ADVERTISEMENTS ON PAGES 120 AND 121

Housman Residence, Montgomery, Montgomery County, Alabama. The Housman residence was built in 1850. Cast-iron mantelpieces with églomisé glass spandrels were quite popular during the 1850s. Identical examples of this design are in the Woolley House in Lexington, Kentucky, as well as in the 1859 house at 17 Clinton Street in Cambridge, Massachusetts. There is a more elaborate neorococo example, probably by the James L. Jackson Foundry in New York City, in the Benjamin Titcomb-Harriet Beecher Stowe House in Brunswick, Maine. The latter house was extensively remodeled during the 1850s.

Photograph by W. N. Manning, 1934.
(HABS ALA, 51-MONG, 15-3)



Entrance hall mantel in the Ernest J. Magerstadt House, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois. The Magerstadt House was completed in 1908 from plans by George W. Maher. It is an outstanding example of that architect's work and was designated a Chicago Architectural Landmark in 1960. The mantelpiece in the entrance hall, with its glass mosaic panel, is one of the most beautiful features of the distinguished art nouveau interior.

Photograph by Cervin Robinson, 1963.
(HABS ILL, 16-CHIG, 26-4)



Rookery Building main lobby in 1963, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois. The court lobby of the Rookery Building was remodeled by Frank Lloyd Wright in 1905. Wright removed most of John Wellborn Root's original iron ornament and replaced it with simple geometric designs. The staircase was enclosed in white marble. Rectangular marble urns and rectangular light fixtures were also designed by Wright. Elaborate gilded arabesques ornament many of the remodeled surfaces. Additional changes were made in 1944 from plans by Magnus Gunderson.

Photograph by Cervin Robinson, 1963.
(HABS ILL, 16-CHIG, 31-7)



Bluffs, Iowa, is an example in the Anglo-Japanese taste. A splendid pair of bronze figurines, each supporting a gas light, stand atop the carved Santo Domingo mahogany newel posts of the flying staircase in the Morse-Libby House of 1859-63 in Portland, Maine.

Until 1959, only one gas fixture was itself specifically photographed by the survey. The rest appear only incidentally with ceiling centerpieces or in general interior views. Thus, the battered and bent three-light gaselier of the 1850s, captioned "Typical Original Gas-Fired Chandelier," photographed on March 10, 1934, in the weedy yard of the James Vance House in San Antonio, Texas, by Marvin Eickenroht is unique among the early HABS photographs. An August 2, 1936, photograph captioned "Mirror in Drawing Room Second Floor," which shows the reflection of a fine two-tiered gaselier with original shades in the Emerson and Holmes Building, dental offices of 1854 in Macon, Georgia, typifies the prevailing myopia of the 1930s toward gas fixtures. Photographer Jack E. Boucher's picture of the very large Gothic gaselier in the 1857 National Guard's Hall in Philadelphia, taken in April 1959, is among the earliest photographs expressly intended to show chandeliers and marks a change of emphasis in recording.

There are relatively few exterior gaslights represented in the survey. Certainly the gas lantern supported by a wrought-iron archway over the Province Street Steps in Boston is one of the most memorable examples. Somewhat more typical is a gas lantern bracketed out from a wall in the courtyard of the Cabildo in New Orleans. Several standard street lamps were recorded, one in front of Christ Episcopal Church in Mobile among the most handsome. A greatly enlarged version of this type, the Harbor Beacon in Savannah, Georgia, is certainly a splendid extant example. The gas bracket on the inner face of a portico column at the Reid-Jones-Carpenter House of 1849 in Augusta, Georgia, is a great rarity. It may have produced an effect similar to that admired at the Second Bank of the United States in Philadelphia on February 14, 1838, by the diarist Philip Hone, who wrote: "The portico . . . appeared more beautiful . . . than usual, from the effect of the gaslight. Each



Rookery Building lobby, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois. The Rookery Building was erected in 1886-88 from plans by Burnham and Root. A copy of an 1893 photograph shows the lobby in its original state with much ornamental cast-iron work before Frank Lloyd Wright's alterations of 1905. "In every detail of The Rookery the subtlety of Root's creative imag-

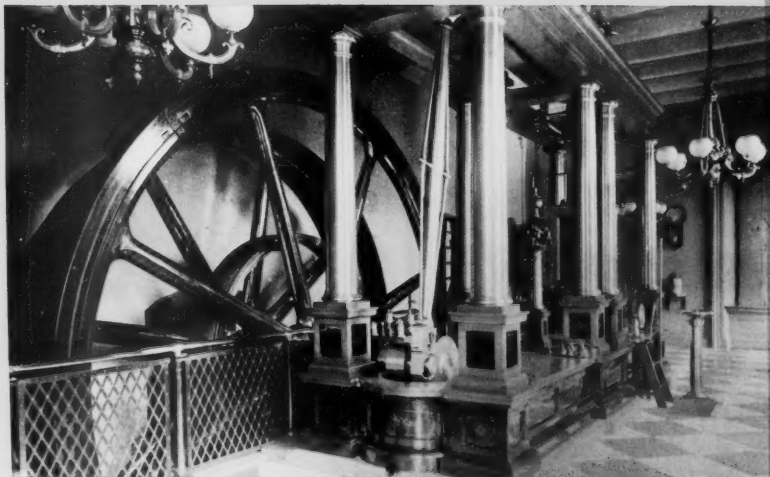
ination is apparent, but nowhere is his genius more obvious than in the glass-and-iron vault over the court. It is the finest example of its kind in the United States." So stated Carl W. Condit in *American Building Art: The Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 55. Photograph, 1893, courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.



Entrance hall, Decatur House, Washington, D.C. The house designed in 1818 by Benjamin Henry Latrobe for Stephen Decatur in Washington is a distinguished town house of the federal period. In 1870 the house was acquired by General Edward Beale, who modernized it by adding mid-Victorian decorative elements. Many of the Beale period interior embellishments were obliterated after 1960 by the National Trust for Historic Preservation to which Mrs. Truxton Beale left the property.

Photograph by John O. Brostrup, 1937. (HABS DC, WASH, 28-14)

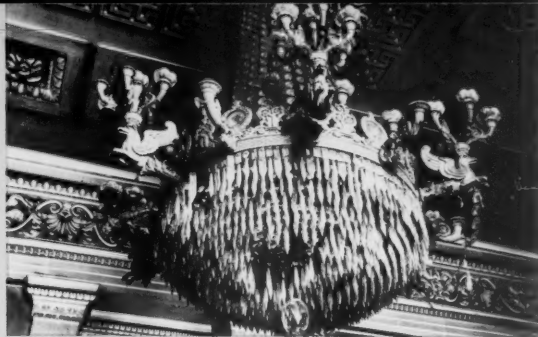
Engine room, U.S. Branch Mint, San Francisco, San Francisco County, California. The U.S. Branch Mint in San Francisco was designed by Alfred Bult Mullett and built in 1869-74. It was so well constructed that it survived the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and fire. It served as the central depot for all the gold and silver produced in the Pacific Coast area until it ceased functioning as a mint in 1937. The room containing



the majestic steam engine was handsomely fitted up with a tessalated marble floor and fine bronze gas chandeliers. The engine housing was supported by Tuscan columns on paneled plinths—a blending of

Roman classicism with nineteenth-century engineering.

Copy of a Runnells & Stateler photograph taken about 1882-85. (HABS CAL, 38-SANFRA, 5-21)



Ballroom chandelier, Croghan House, Pittsburgh, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. The now-demolished Croghan House was built in the late 1830s on the outskirts of Pittsburgh for weekend entertaining, as its original name, Picnic House, suggests. It originally consisted of a ballroom with oval anteroom and three bedrooms above a high basement containing servants' quarters.

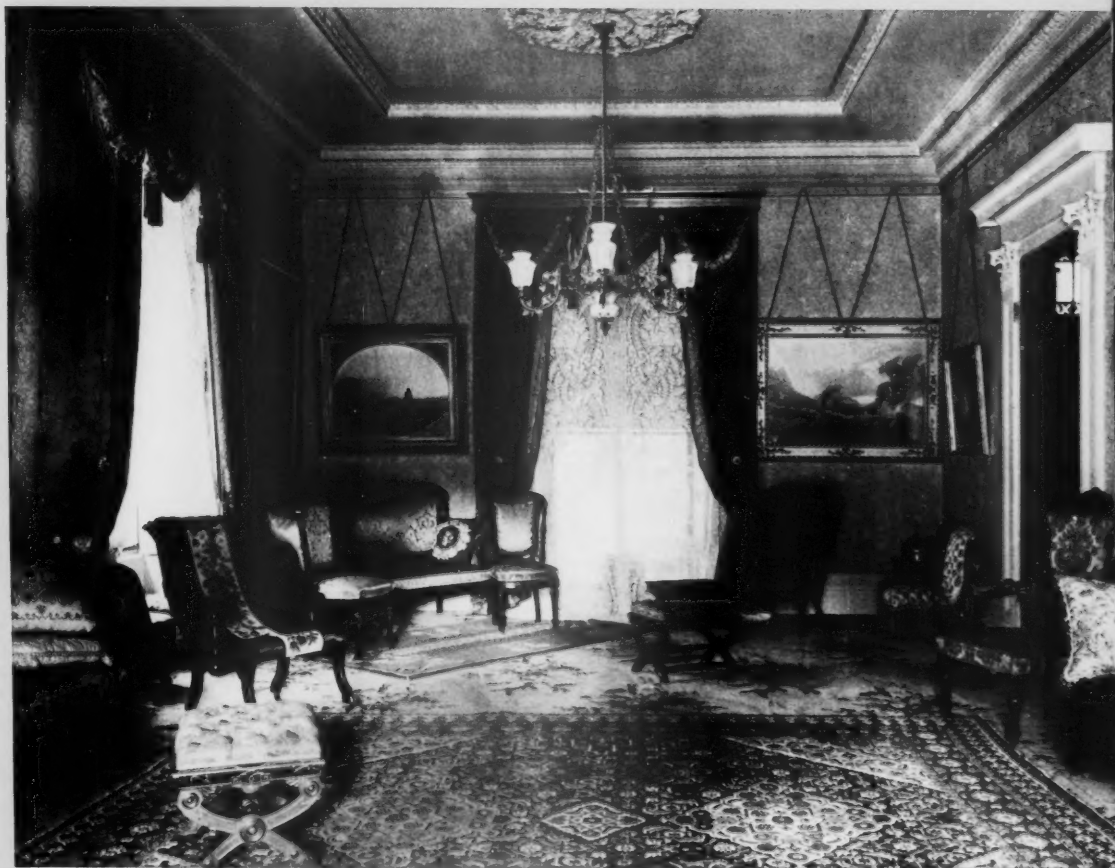
The ballroom and its anteroom, now preserved in the University of Pittsburgh, are among the most lavishly enriched Greek revival interiors ever executed in an American residence. The magnificent chandelier is a trifle overscaled for the size of the ballroom.

Photograph by Charles M. Stotz, 1934.
(HABS PA, 2-PITBU, 3-9)

Drawing room, Valentine-Fuller House, Cambridge, Middlesex County, Massachusetts.

The Valentine-Fuller House with attached carriage house and stable was erected in 1848. House and grounds together made a particularly fine intact example of a mid-nineteenth-century suburban estate. It was demolished in 1937. When Robert O. Fuller bought the property from Charles Valentine in 1865, Fuller ordered the drawing room furniture. The draperies dated from 1865, but the Oriental rug was added atop the carpet during the 1880s. The two gas chandeliers in this large room appear to have been by the Boston firm of Henry N. Hooper. The plaster work and door trim are Greek revival, but the exterior of the house was Italianate with very wide bracketed eaves.

Copy of an 1890 photograph.
(HABS MASS, 9 CAMB, 10-8)



Dining room of the James Whitcomb Riley House, Indianapolis, Marion County, Indiana, around 1900.

Comparison of the picture taken around 1900 with a photograph taken in 1970 shows almost no change in the Riley House dining room. The same furniture and carpet are there, and even the shades of the gas chandelier and the smoke bells above them have survived intact. Only the upholstery of the chairs and the wallpaper have been replaced. The carpet is dark red with a light red arabesque design. The embossed paper wainscot is dark brown. The built-in cherry buffet in the framed recess of the south wall has a white marble top. The fireplace on the opposite wall has a round-arched brown-veined Vermont marble mantelpiece surmounted by a cherry framed mirror.

(HABS IND, 49-IND, 8-12)



Chandelier in First Parish Church (Unitarian), Kennebunk, York County, Maine. The First Parish Church was commenced in 1772, enlarged in 1803, and subdivided horizontally in 1838. Brass ormolu chandeliers with ornamental chains

were very popular in America during the 1840s and early 1850s. The neorococo arms and grape-patterned chains are typical. Many chandeliers of this style were made for gas. This one supports six oil lamps. The shades of these lamps date from after 1880, and the lamps themselves appear to be replacements of earlier ones.

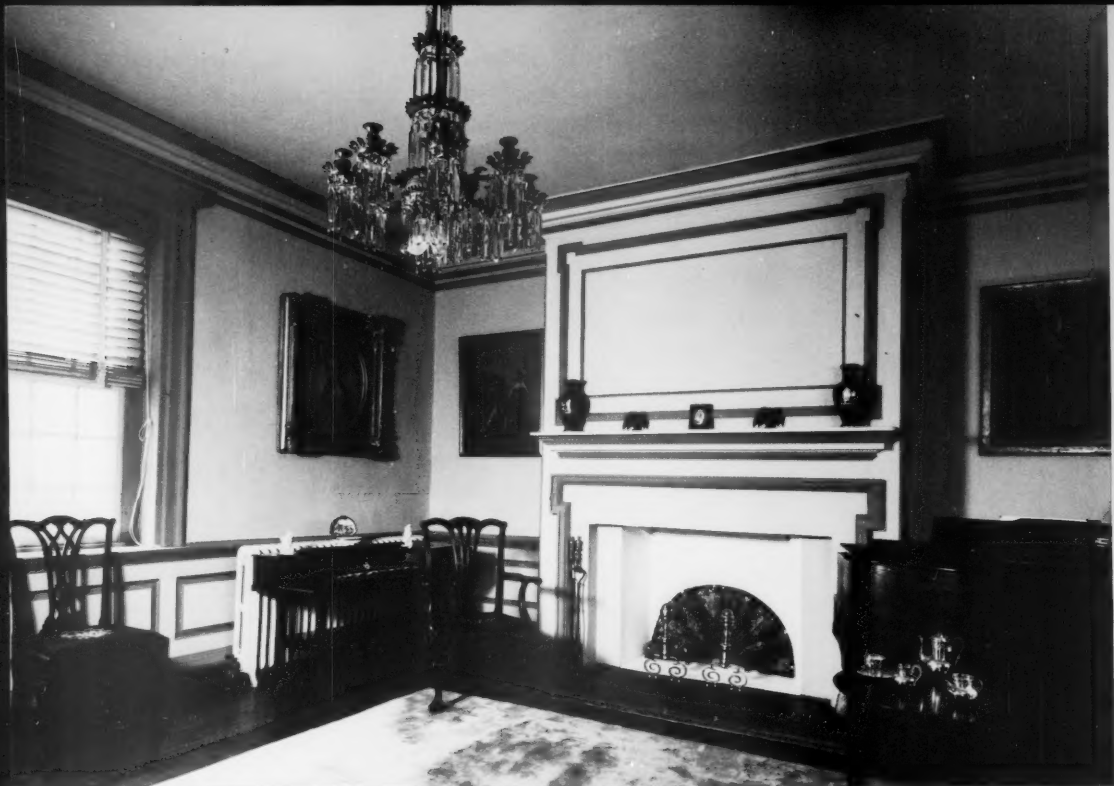
Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, 1965.

Dining room of the James Whitcomb Riley House, Indianapolis, Marion County, Indiana, in 1970. The red-on-red floral wallpaper in this view harmonizes well with the original carpet. The molded plaster ceiling centerpiece out of camera range above the chandelier represents apples and leaves. The apples are painted red.

Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, 1970. (HABS IND, 49-IND, 8-13)







**West parlor of Belmont Hall,
Smyrna, Kent County, Delaware.**

Belmont Hall was built in 1753 and enlarged in 1771. It was extensively rebuilt after fire damage in 1882. The west parlor dates from 1771, but the chandelier is at least sixty years later in date. Tiered prism-hung chandeliers of this general pattern were common in America from around 1830 until about 1850 or later. Some held candles; others held oil lamps; and still others were piped for gas.

Photograph by Cortlandt VanDyke Hubbard, 1960. (HABS DEL, 1-SMYR V, 3-10)

Interior of the Dutch Reformed Church, Millstone, Somerset County, New Jersey. This church was built in 1828. The large neo-grec three-tiered chandelier supports a total of eighteen oil lamps and dates from the late 1860s or the 1870s. There are also three-lamp wall brackets *en suite* with the chandelier. The neo-grec style had reached its apogee in America by the centennial year, 1876. The stamped metal sheathing of the walls and ceiling appears to date from around the turn of the century.

Photograph by Nathaniel R. Ewen, 1937. (HABS NJ, 18-MIL, 2-3)



of the fluted columns had a jet of light from the inner side so placed as not to be seen from the street . . . which . . . produced an effect strikingly beautiful."

By 1873, when the Isaac Kinsey House was completed near Milton, Indiana, city and town gas was widely available, but village and country houses had to rely on private gas machines. The only gas machine recorded in the survey is the exceedingly rare example in the Kinsey House cellar. Its undated label reads: "30 light combination/gas machine/manufactured by/Detroit Heating & Lighting Co./Detroit Mich."

Domestic gas lighting is well represented in the survey. Examples range from the simple to the elaborate and from early to late. The gaselier with rope and tassel motif in the southwest room of the 1807 Charles Dana House in Woodstock, Vermont, dates from the 1850s and is an unusually fanciful example of a basically simple type. The relatively large neo-rococo gaselier in the northeast room of the Hardaway-Wilson House of 1840 in Mobile is also typical of the 1850s, but the shades are about forty years later in date. Similarly elaborate fixtures of the 1850s survived in the Elk's Club in Montgomery, Alabama. The Wickham-Valentine House in Richmond, Virginia, has superb examples in the parlor and hall. Gas fixtures of the 1860s are splendidly represented in the Governor Henry Lippitt House in Providence, Rhode Island, and by equally lavish and generally more graceful examples in the Morse-Libby House in Portland, Maine.

Glass gas chandeliers normally hung in parlors, but almost never in dining rooms. A particularly fine example of this "crystal" type with cut glass shades hangs in the Wayne-Gordon House in Savannah, Georgia. The double parlor of the Stanford-Lathrop Memorial Home of 1857 in Sacramento, California, had a handsome pair of six-light crystal fixtures that apparently dated from a remodeling finished in 1872. The west parlor had a center-slide chandelier, whose central Argand burner could be lowered, executed by Mitchell, Vance and Company of New York. Such fixtures were used principally over library and dining room tables. The *néo-grec* chandelier in the first-floor southeast room of

the J. Stuart Wells House of 1870 in Binghamton, New York, is highly characteristic of a style that flourished from around 1865 until the late 1870s.

The use of glass and porcelain smoke bells suspended above gas jets was primarily confined to hall fixtures (called pendants) like that in the James B. Weeks House in Kingston, New York. Occasionally smoke bells were used with chandeliers like the example with original shades dating from the 1850s in the Dearing House in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. The James Whitcomb Riley House in Indianapolis has smoke bells above the chandeliers in the dining room and in Riley's bedroom. The Riley House remains as it was when six electric lights were added to the original Eastlake gas fixture in Charles L. Holstein's bedroom.

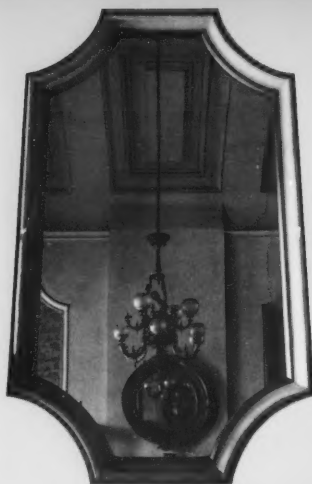
The gradual progress electric light made against gas was slowed by the incandescent Welsbach burner, which was first advertised in 1890. In 1905 an inverted Welsbach burner was introduced. Both the old and new types of gas burner are present in a partially converted chandelier in the James Kirksey House in Tallahassee, Florida. Before 1900, combination gas and electric fixtures became fairly common, and so-called gas candles were then a favored form of burner. The extraordinary corona in the Court House in Charles Town, West Virginia, combines gas candles with electric lights and thus heralds the approaching end of the gaslight era.

Artistically significant lighting fixtures by no means vanished with the conclusion of the gaslight era. Unquestionably some of the most striking lighting effects of this century were achieved in the art deco Paramount Theatre built in 1930-31 in Oakland, California. There the potentialities of indirect lighting were ingeniously exploited throughout the theater. The women's lounge in the basement has a particularly handsome ceiling fixture of frosted glass. Such lighting devices and all other important architectural details continue to be documented by the Historic American Buildings Survey.

DENYS PETER MYERS is an architectural historian at the Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, and the author of the major study *Gaslighting in America* (1978).

Main staircase of the General Grenville M. Dodge House, Council Bluffs, Pottawattamie County, Iowa. In 1866 Gen. Grenville Mellen Dodge was made chief engineer of the Union Pacific Railroad. In 1869-70 he built his brick mansard-roofed house, modifying plans by the Chicago architect William W. Boyington. The fourteen-room mansion cost \$35,000, a considerable sum for the time. The gas standard on the newel post of the main staircase is ornamented with polychromed ceramic elements in the Anglo-Japanese style. The gas fitting for the house was done by an Omaha firm. The house is now subdivided into apartments.

Anonymous photograph, after 1916.
(HABS IOWA, 78-COUB, 1-4)



Second floor drawing room mirror, Emerson and Holmes Building, Macon, Bibb County, Georgia. The Emerson and Holmes Building was built in 1854 as an unusually fine set of dentists' offices for a Dr. Emerson from New Hampshire. The third floor contained living quarters. The two-tiered ten-light gas chandelier still had most of its original globes when a HABS photographer caught its reflection. The building was still used for dental offices in 1936.

Photograph by L. D. Andrew, 1936.
(HABS GA, 11-MACO, 13-4)



Main stairs, Morse-Libby House, Portland, Cumberland County, Maine. The Morse-Libby House was built in 1859-63 from plans by the New Haven architect Henry Austin. The first owner, Ruggles Sylvester Morse, was a hotel entrepreneur. The interiors of this towered Italianate villa were sumptuously ornamented by Giuseppe Guidicini—now often mislabeled Giovanni Guidirini—a New York artist. The most elaborate form of gas standard was the bronze statue. Here a pair of them both ornaments and illuminates the newel posts of the flying staircase in the Morse-Libby House hall. The house is now known as Victoria Mansion—a museum.

Anonymous photograph, 1936.
(HABS ME, 3-PORT, 15-3)



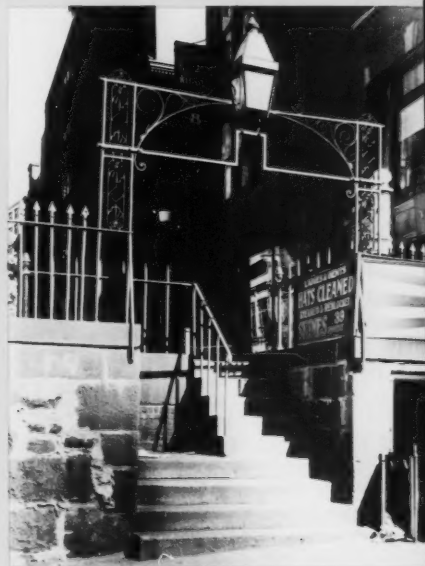
Lamp post in front of Christ Episcopal Church, Mobile, Mobile County, Alabama. This cast-iron lamp post probably dates from around 1855, when the City of Mobile received numerous requests for the placement of posts on designated corners. The crossbar served to support the lamplighter's ladder. The post is a standard design, but the lantern shielding the gas light is more ornamental than most. Possibly the lantern was provided by the wardens and vestry of Christ Church, not by the city.

Photograph by E. W. Russell, 1937.
(HAB5 ALA, 49-MOBI, 33C-2)



Province Street Steps, Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts. The Greek revival palmette motifs in the wrought-iron archway supporting this gas street lantern suggest a date in the 1830s. The steps connect Bosworth Street, which runs a short block from Tremont Street, with a narrow lane called Province Street. Gas street lighting first came to Boston in the 1820s.

Photograph by Arthur C. Haskell, 1934.
(HAB5 MASS, 13-BOST, 36A-1)



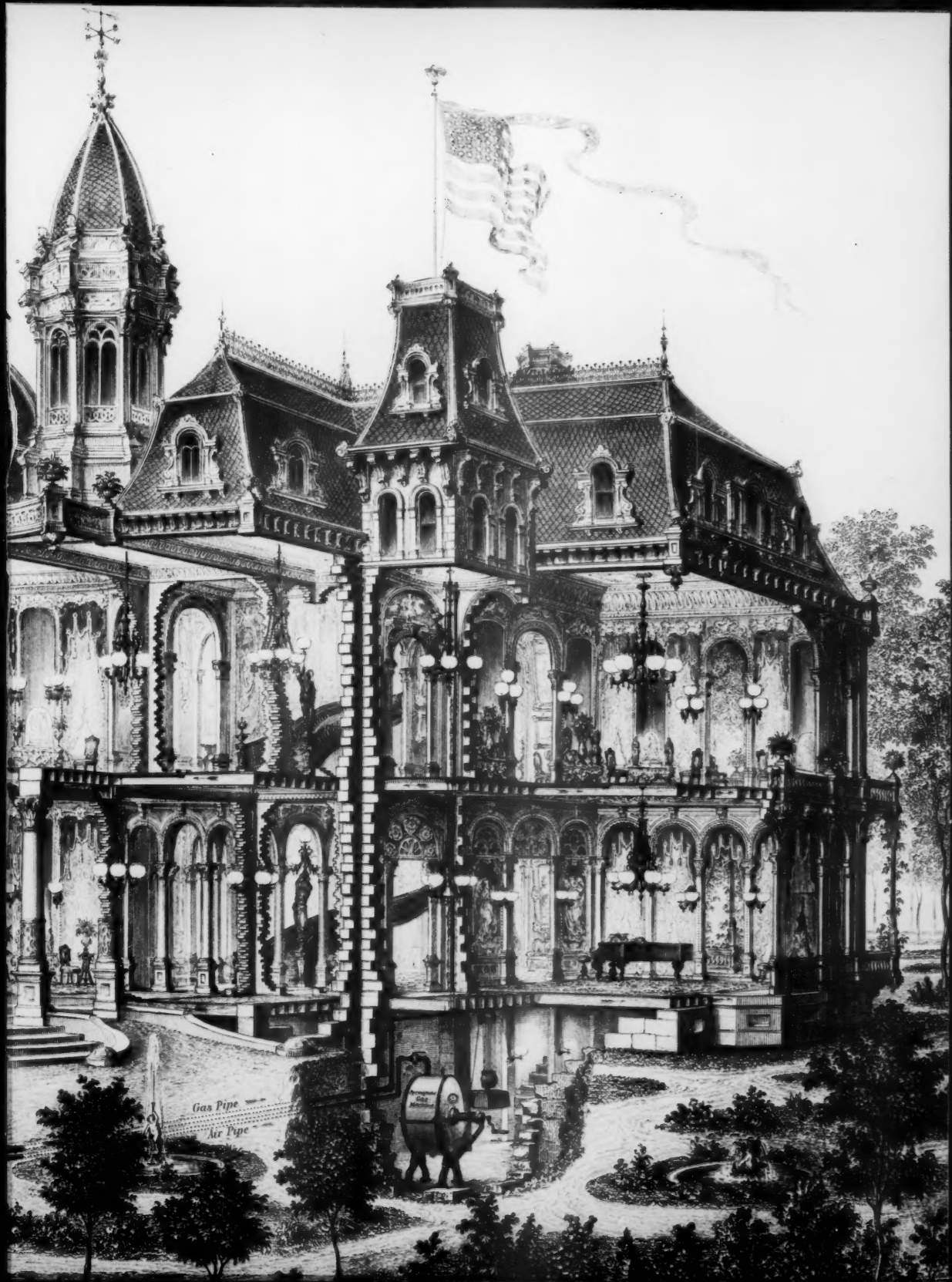
Detail of columns, Reid-Jones-Carpenter House, Augusta, Richmond County, Georgia. The Corinthian portico of the Greek revival Reid-Jones-Carpenter House is lighted by at least one gas bracket affixed to the inner face of a fluted column. This unusual arrangement is made even more uncommon by the form of the bracket, which was certainly designed for interior use. Exterior gas lights require more protection from wind than that provided by the open glass shade of this bracket in the form of an angel.

Photograph by Lawrence Bradley, 1936.
(HAB5 GA-227, HAB5 GA, 122-AUG, 13-3)

Advertisement for a Springfield Gas Machine around 1868. The Springfield Gas Machine generated gas from gasoline in an evaporating tank placed underground at a distance from the building to be lighted. An air pump driven by a weight suspended from the cellar ceiling forced air through a pipe leading to the generating tank, and a second pipe conveyed the gas from the tank to the house. The extraordinary mansion in this advertisement appears to contain only parlors.

Engraving by John Keim, published by Hay Brothers. (LC-USZ62-44118)







Chandelier in the J. Stuart Wells House, Binghamton, Broome County, New York. J. Stuart Wells was the leading building contractor of Binghamton. His nineteen-room house was built in 1867-70 from plans by Isaac G. Perry. The neo-grec plaster centerpiece above this four-light bronze gas chandelier accords well with the same stylistic expression in the fixture itself. Griffins like those perched at the springing of the branches were a favorite motif on neo-grec chandeliers. The style flourished in America from around 1865 until the late 1870s. The shades on this fixture date from the 1880s.

Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, 1966.
(HABS NY, 4-BING, 6-7)

Stair hall, Wickham-Valentine House, Richmond, Virginia. The Wickham-Valentine House, now a part of the Valentine Museum, was built in 1812. Recent research by Pamela J. Scott and Edward F. Zimmer has demonstrated that the house, long attributed to Robert Mills, was in fact designed by Alexander Parris (Zimmer and Scott, "Alexander Parris, B. Henry Latrobe, and the John Wickham House in Richmond, Virginia," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 41:202-11). In 1854 the house was lavishly redecorated in the mid-century neorococo style. Two splendid gas chandeliers installed in 1854 remain, one in the parlor and one in the hall. Both are probably by Cornelius and Baker of Philadelphia. The hall chandelier is two-tiered, with a three-light section lighting the upper hall.

Photograph by Frederick Doveton Nichols, 1940. (HABS VA, 44-RICH, 5-4)



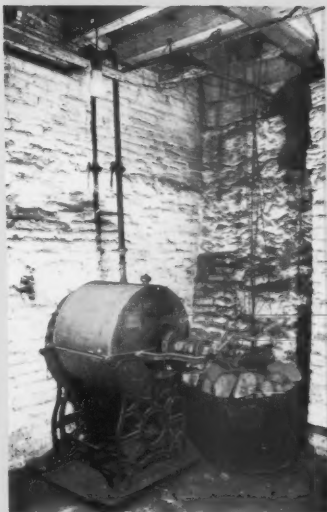
Gas Chandelier in the Southeast Room of the Charles Dana House, Woodstock, Windsor County, Vermont. The Charles Dana House, now a historical society museum, was built in 1807. This fanciful gas chandelier was probably installed in 1856, when gas came to Woodstock, or shortly thereafter. Its style is typical of the late 1850s. If it had been electrified to take smaller bulbs, the effect would have been better. The shades are original.

Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, 1959.
(HABS VT, 14-WOOD, 6-10)





Northwest double parlor in the Stanford-Lathrop Memorial Home, Sacramento, Sacramento County, California. The Stanford-Lathrop Memorial Home was built in 1857-58 from plans by Seth Babson (1828-1907), a Sacramento architect who was born in Maine. In 1861 the original owner, Shelton C. Fogus, sold the property to Governor Leland Stanford. In 1871-72 Stanford vastly enlarged the house. The Stanfords moved to San Francisco in 1874, and in 1900 Stanford's widow gave the house to the Roman Catholic bishop of Sacramento for an orphanage. The double parlor is part of the original, 1857-58 structure. Its contents date from 1872. The carpet is sewn together from unusually wide strips. Most carpet strips were only twenty-seven inches wide. The gas chandeliers may possibly date from 1857-58. From a copy of a photograph taken around 1872. (HABS CAL, 34-SAC, 9-12)



Gas machine in the cellar of the Isaac Kinsey House, Milton vicinity, Wayne County, Indiana. Beechwood, the Isaac Kinsey House, was built during 1871-73 from plans by the Richmond, Indiana, architect Joel Stover. This rare private gas machine had a small furnace for the distillation of gas from coal. Counterweights attached to the drum had to be cranked upward to effect a constant pressure of gas to as many as thirty burners throughout the house.

Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, 1975. (HABS IND, 1-MILT V, 1-19)

Gas fixture in Holstein's bedroom in the James Whitcomb Riley House, Indianapolis, Marion County, Indiana. John R. Nickum's son-in-law, Charles L. Holstein, was a U.S. district attorney. Until his death in 1901 he occupied the southeast corner bed-sitting room in the house. The chandelier in that room was originally all gas-lighted. The electrical elements were added early in the present century. Although James Whitcomb Riley never owned the house that now bears his name, his fame as a popular poet and journalist has eclipsed the memory of the Nickum and Holstein families who were his hosts.

Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, 1970. (HABS IND, 49-IND, 8-16)



Music room in the Morse-Libby House, Portland, Cumberland County, Maine. The gilt bronze gas chandeliers in the Morse-Libby House of 1859-63 are exceptionally fine. Most, including the music room chandelier, retain their original shades. The shades on the gas brackets flanking the mantel mirror are later. Wide-based shades came in after 1876 and were common by 1880. They allowed a greater flow of air to the flame and thus greatly reduced flickering.

This view of the music room shows the original carpet as well as the lavishly carved white marble mantelpiece with dancing figures, the rich plaster cornice, and some of Giuseppe Guidicini's decorative painting.

Anonymous photograph, 1936. (HABS ME, 3-PORT, 15-7)



West parlor and dining room in the Stanford-Lathrop Memorial Home, Sacramento, Sacramento County, California. These rooms are in the newer portion of the house dating from 1871-72. The *San Francisco Chronicle* for February 7, 1872, reported that the house contained "forty-four rooms, all most elaborately and luxuriously furnished and fitted up. Good taste and cultured imagination have been exhausted in furnishing the establishment. Magnificent and costly furniture in every room; lace curtains of the finest fabric; carpets that receive with noiseless tread the footfall; . . ." The neo-Renaissance bronze stands with putti supporting lidded urns may well have exhausted "cultured imagination." The table in the foreground was certainly "magnificent and costly." The sculpture in the niche and the circular photographs of Bertel Thorvaldsen's once-famous bas reliefs *Day* and *Night* certified the culture of their owner. Geometric medallion-patterned carpets like those seen here were popular in the 1860s and early 1870s. These both silenced footfalls and visually dominated the rooms. The chandelier with the patent center slide was made by the New York firm of Mitchell, Vance and Company. The brass crowns on the shades were an extra luxury. This house is now run by the Sisters of Social Service as a home for girls and is open by request. Many Stanford pieces are still in place.

From a copy of a photograph taken around 1872. (HABS CAL, 34-SAC, 9-12)



Riley's bedroom in the James Whitcomb Riley House, Indianapolis, Marion County, Indiana. The James Whitcomb Riley House was completed by 1872 for John R. Nickum. Nickum died in 1902. Riley resided in the house from 1893 until his death in 1916 as a paying guest of Nickum and his heirs. The house is now a museum operated by the James Whitcomb Riley Memorial Association.

Riley's bedroom has a tan carpet with a multicolored geometric pattern. The wallpaper has white "snowflake geometric" designs on a light brown ground. The frieze above the picture molding has gilded swags on a tan ground. The ceiling is tan. The mantelpiece is a dark Vermont marble. The massive walnut bedstead and marble-topped bureau date from the 1850s or early 1860s. Glass bells



suspended over the gas chandelier protect the ceiling from smoke. From a copy of a photograph taken around 1900. (HABS IND, 49-IND, 8-14)

Gas fixture in the James Kirksey House, Tallahassee, Leon County, Florida. The James Kirksey House was prefabricated in New England, shipped to St. Marks via New Orleans, hauled to Tallahassee by ox teams, and erected in 1830-32. The house is said to have been equipped with gas lighting before 1860. The open-flame batswing or fishtail burners at the left are original to this chandelier. The inverted burners at the right are designed for Welsbach mantles and were added after 1905. The design of the chandelier bears out a putative date of around 1860.

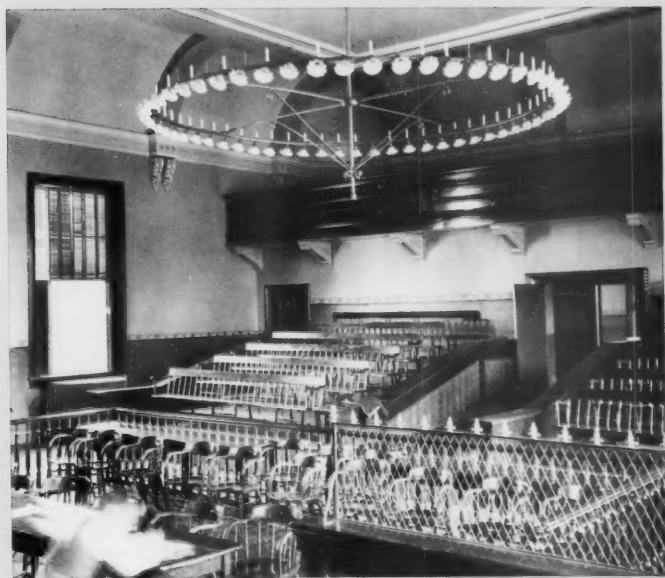
Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, 1962. (HABS FLA, 37-TALA, 6-9)





Basement women's lounge in the Paramount Theatre, Oakland, Alameda County, California. The Paramount Theatre was built in 1930-31 from plans by Timothy L. Pflueger. It is one of the finest remaining examples of art deco design in the United States. It was one of the first depression-era buildings to incorporate and integrate the work of numerous creative artists into its architecture and is particularly noteworthy for its successful orchestration of the various artistic disciplines into an original and harmonious whole. The corners of this women's lounge contain floor-to-ceiling concave quarter-round amber-back-lit etched glass panels, creating an unusual spatial effect. A large silvered plaster bas-relief, representing a female nude blowing a slender horn and sitting precariously on a goat prancing over a stylized cloud and shooting star, is centered on the east wall opposite the entrance. A recessed shallow silvered dome occupies the center of the ceiling and contains a very large-scaled plaster centerpiece of stylized foliation from which depends a two-tiered frosted glass lobe-edged light fixture accented by radiating metal spokes. The theater was restored in 1973 and is now a National Historic Landmark.

Photograph by Gabriel Moulin Studios, 1932. (HABS CAL, 1-OAK, 9-25)



Main courtroom, Courthouse, Charles Town, Jefferson County, West Virginia. Originally built in 1801, the Jefferson County Courthouse was partially destroyed during the Civil War and restored and enlarged around 1867. The main courtroom is on the second floor,

which was added at that time. The extraordinary chandelier in the form of a corona dates from around 1900 and combines over fifty gas candles with a like number of white-shaded electric bulbs.

Photograph by Edward M. Craig, 1936. (HABS W-VA, 19-CHART, 3-11)

When Hollywood and I Were Young

BY TRUE BOARDMAN



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In a day when one searches for one's "roots," it is gratifying to have discovered that my own are represented in the Library of Congress: plays written by my grandmother; others written by my recently deceased wife; television shows and feature films involving my granddaughter, Lisa Gerritsen; silent films featuring my father and mother; plus other films (both silent and sound), radio plays, documentaries, Armed Forces wartime recordings and more recent television shows—in all of which, either as actor, writer, producer, or director, I was personally involved. These permanent records of the creative works of six members of five generations of my family cover the nearly eighty years since my grandmother's (Carro True Boardman) melodrama *The Shadows of Shasta* was copyrighted in 1904.

Among the earliest entries in this family catalog are keys to memories of a childhood in the silents which otherwise might be forgotten. Here then, is a family story mostly about Hollywood in its younger days, all more or less "True," but with Bronco Billy, Mary Pickford, Charlie Chaplin, Helen Gibson, Helen Keller, Bessie Barriscale, Irene Rich, and Rudolf Valentino in the supporting cast—which is to say that it was my youthful fortune to work with, or for, all of them.

It was in Niles, California, the small town south and east of San Francisco, in 1908 that George Spoor and G. M. Anderson established the Essanay (an acronym of their last names) Studios with a roster of early stars, including Charlie Chaplin, Wallace Beery, William S. Hart, Ben Turpin, and Edna Purviance. Indeed, the film center of the world might have been Niles

One of the *Bronco Billy* episodes in which True Boardman, Jr., appeared with his father and Evelyn Selbie—"A Reward for Bronco Billy."



Virginia True Boardman (True Boardman, Jr.'s mother), whose professional name was Virginia Eames when she acted in early silent films.

instead of Hollywood, but it was not to be, as first Chaplin and then other stars went on to other towns and other companies—some of them to the also short-lived American Film Company in San Mateo—and finally to New York or Hollywood.

Among the films preserved in the Library's archives are a number of the *Bronco Billy* series in which G. M. Anderson himself starred and in which my mother (wrongly credited as Virginia Ames, since her professional name was then Virginia Eames) and my father, True Sr., both appear. There were other episodes, from one of which I have stills showing both me and my father, in which I played a key role. (It was not my film debut; I had made that at the age of fifteen months at the Selig Studio in Chicago in a film, unfortunately, not preserved in the Library's archives, starring William Desmond.) However, in this *Bronco Billy* episode I underwent a histrionic experience which to this day, despite my three and a half years in the army, still leaves me gun-shy. The incident involved me, at about four, playing cowboys and Indians with, supposedly, my little sister while well-

True Boardman, Sr., appeared in many *Bronco Billy* series films, usually as the sheriff. These were produced in Niles, California, by Essanay, established in 1908 by George Spoor and G. M. Anderson (who played Bronco Billy). Here we see True Boardman, Sr., Evelyn Selbie, Carl Stockdale, and Paul Hurst in a barroom scene, and what appears to be a romantic interlude between the sheriff and the barmaid.



armed with my father's "unloaded" shotgun. When the time came to photograph the sequence, naturally they wanted me to shoot the gun in one scene then, in another, show my sister apparently being hit and falling. So, with the camera ready to grind, the director put in my hands the double-barreled gun, which was longer than I was and nearly as heavy, and said, "Trudie—just point it at that tree and pull the trigger," never mentioning that there were *two* triggers side by side. I stood ready, valiant, determined, as the director moved off, called out "camera" and then "action!" "All right, Trudie, now aim at the tree. Shoot it!" And shoot it I did, with both barrels, and the recoil knocked me flat on my little keister. As the cast and crew howled with laughter, my mother came running in to pick me up and railed at the director, "What are you doing to my child?" The propman tried to explain that there were only cotton wads in the shells; and anyway, I was not supposed to shoot both barrels. I guess Virginia, my mother, got mollified. Because we did the scene over. But it was certainly no firearms introduction for a future lieutenant colonel.

My father appeared frequently in the *Bronco Billy* series, usually as the sheriff; but he too left Niles in 1914, lured south by an offer from Kalem to come to its recently established studio in the hills behind Glendale and star in a new weekly serial called *Stingaree*, based on a novel by E. W. Hornung, the author of *Raffles*. It was an ideal role for my father, a long-established matinee idol in the theatre. At six feet, two inches, with a naturally regal bearing, he was perfectly cast as the unjustly accused British nobleman, exiled to Australia to become a sort of Robin Hood of the outback—wearing a monocle, riding a magnificent white horse, and fearlessly going to the aid of those unjustly wronged and in distress. I treasure stills from those films, and have donated many of them to the Library. But, unfortunately, no prints from the series have survived. A few prints from another serial made by Kalem at the same time are in the archives; namely, *The Hazards of Helen*, starring Helen Gibson. It was Kalem's challenge to *The Perils of Pauline*. And it too was full of perils, to which I can attest personally. I played in three of the episodes when I was five or six.

In one I crawled into a locomotive, somehow started it and had it thundering on toward an open (natch) drawbridge—only to have the daring Helen outrace the train, leap from her horse to the cab of the engine, and stop it with the cowcatcher already over the brink. I suppose I shall never get over the thrill of that role as a railroad "engineer." I choose to forget the fact that a real engineer was concealed out of camera range. In another of the same series Helen rescued me from the bed of a runaway flat car—not nearly as memorable. And in the one episode of the series that is in the Library's files I am only a peripherally involved kid character in the

story; much less adventurous, alas. But it is there—another of those family roots for my grandchildren and their grandchildren to be able to see.

A word is in order about the way films were shot in those early days and how it affected child actors. Nowadays, they are protected—

A *Bronco Billy* episode in which True Boardman, Jr., plays the brother of the little girl (Mary Edna Clements?) who is shot with an "unloaded" shotgun when they are playing cowboys and Indians. The mother is played by Evelyn Selbie.



In 1914 True Boardman, Sr., left Essanay and joined Kalem at its recently established studio in the hills behind Glendale to star in a weekly serial called *Stingaree*. The role was that of an unjustly accused British nobleman, exiled to Australia, where he has become a Robin Hood of the outback—wearing a monocle, riding a magnificent white horse, and defending those unjustly wronged and in distress.



perhaps overprotected—by strict laws. The younger a child, the less time he can be on camera in any one day. A number of school hours must be set aside. He or she can usually work no more than eight hours. There are limitations as to night work. This was not so in my day. Oh, there were restrictions, even then; but not only were they less strict, they were also less frequently observed. The incident of the shotgun is a case in point. Today the studio teacher-welfare worker would almost certainly insist on checking out the gun beforehand. And if the recoil recumbency did happen to a child actor, he or she would not be allowed to redo the scene before being checked by a doctor or nurse. Meanwhile, shooting would be shut down. Not then. On another occasion when I was about ten, at the old Selig Studio near Lincoln Park, I had the rare distinction of costarring with a chimpanzee named Snooky. (A Boardman teamed with a simian? Tsk, tsk. But things were tough and my then widowed mother and I needed that fifty dollars a week.) Anyway, one scene involved my riding beside Snooky, "The Humanzee," on the seat of an improvised carriage being propelled from the rear by a harnessed goat. At one point I was to pull up on the reins to halt said goat. On call from the director (no problem with off-scene instructions in those silent days), I jerked hard on the reins. Unfortunately, my jerking brought my hands almost into the jaws of the up to then placid Snooky beside me. Upon which she clutched my left hand in hers and jammed it hard against her upper teeth, then released me, leaving three very definite bleeding teeth marks as a warning that simian actors are not to be trifled with or scared. Members of the crew rushed to us. Her trainer calmed Snooky, and the director looked at my bleeding hand, then wiped it off with his handkerchief as he asked if it hurt. Hurt? A little thing like being bitten by a chimpanzee hurt a trouper like me? Of course not. So, after somebody dabbed some iodine on the wounds (from which, incidentally, I still have—and treasure—the scars), we redid the scene, albeit with more gentle halting action by me. And, so help me, after the scene was over, Snooky put her arms around me and kissed my cheek in apology. Yes, that is how it was when Hollywood and a lot of us were younger. Today a

kid would be sent to a hospital for treatment, and poor Snooky tested for rabies.

Of course, there are many misconceptions about what filming in general was like in those early days. For example, there is a widely held belief that stories were not written for those early films; supposedly they were just sort of ad-libbed by the directors and actors. A cabal. There were, from the beginning, "story men" (and a few women), some of them also directors, who created stories and then put scenarios down on paper, including dialogue which the actors spoke, even though the titles inserted later did not always conform with what the actors had said (confounding and amusing lip-readers around the world).

As to direction, here too there is a false assumption that few scenes were carefully or imaginatively planned and directed. In many cases that was just not true. The good directors, then as now, knew what they wanted and rehearsed till they got it. Of course, much of the emphasis was on exteriors. That picture of the director wearing puttees (a la De Mille) and carrying a megaphone was not the result of affectation—at least not in the beginning. Shooting outside most of the time and often in rugged country, the puttees were just plain practical. As for the megaphone, how else to communicate with a bunch of cowboys racing through a scene and often starting from behind the trees a hundred yards away? Loud speakers and even bullhorns were to come along years later. Then the "voice of authority" needed a voice and used it.

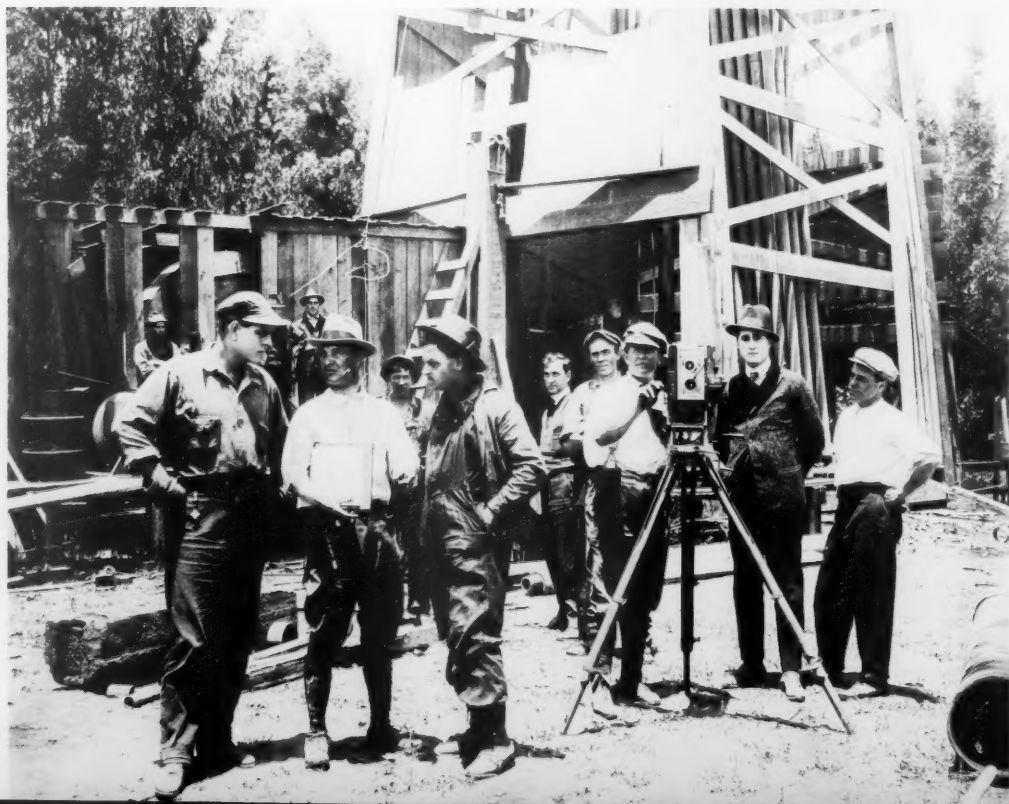
Was the acting exaggerated and overplayed? Here, perhaps, one can say yes. And for this there was one principal reason. Most of the performers had come from the theatre—the theatre of melodrama and, in many cases, the low, broad comedy of vaudeville or the music hall. It was to take years of experience and training for many performers to fully realize how the camera exaggerates action and to learn to slow down movements, particularly in close-ups. One of my earliest memories is of a director shouting at me, "No, Trudie, move your head slow when you turn to see her. Slow, slow, slow." (I am still trying to remember—even when I do a scene now—yet sometimes I still forget.)

Many of the early stages were a far cry from the elaborate sound stages of today's MGM or Universal studios. Often they were simply large unroofed, walled-in areas with curtains suspended on wires over the top so that sunlight could be cut out when necessary and so that the klieg lights could be reflected downwards when shooting night scenes. They were carbon arc lights, their brightness produced by the junction of two carbons meeting with high power flowing through. Nowadays people are warned against even looking at such a light for the briefest moment. In the "silent" days we often worked under them for hours on end. No actor worth his salt failed to have—both in his dressing room and at home—a bottle of Colyrium Wyeth to soothe those reddened eyeballs after such exposure. Theoretically, all of us should

The Boardmans appeared in *The Hazards of Helen* series, Kalem's answer to *The Perils of Pauline*. True Boardman, Jr., did indeed play the "Boy at the Throttle" when he was five or six years old.

True Boardman, Sr., in a suit, on *The Hazards of Helen* set. James Horne, the director, is wearing puttees, and Paul Hurst is the cameraman.

Helen Gibson
THE MOST DARING GIRL IN MOTION PICTURES
IN
A BOY AT THE THROTTLE
AN EPISODE OF THE
"HAZARDS OF HELEN"
SERIES





have become blind. In fact, we simply lived with it.

What about the camera? In documentaries about the beginning days of movies, everyone has seen that rectangular box mounted on a tripod with the cameraman grinding away. It looks simple. It was not. For true representation of action the camera had to be turned at the exact speed at which it would later be projected—that is, sixteen frames a second—and often for scenes that would last minutes. Sounds easy? Try it sometime. But the real professionals, like Rollie Totheroh, Chaplin's principal cameraman, were superbly expert at it. What is more, they soon learned the tricks which varying speeds could produce. Under-cranking would greatly exaggerate the speed of movement. Over-cranking (speeding it up when shooting) would provide slow motion when projected. These alternatives became essential tools in the making of comedies, particularly with such producers as Chaplin, Mack Sennett and, later, Harold Lloyd.

Sam Goldwyn often said, "A rock is a rock; a tree is a tree. We'll shoot it in Griffith Park."

Director James Horne went a little farther afield and shot his Westerns in the Glendale Hills when there were no paved roads, telephone poles, or houses in the area. True Boardman, Sr., is the soldier by the car.

Incidentally, it is to be remembered that most of the early silents were shot at sixteen frames per second, but modern projection is at twenty-four. This is why an early film (unless it has been reprocessed, as most of them are now) looks jerky on the screen. Obviously, it was not shot that way.

"A rock is a rock; a tree is a tree. We'll shoot it in Griffith Park," is a quote attributed to Sam Goldwyn in his early days. But I can attest that in spirit the line is, by and large, true. A company shooting an action sequence of, for example, an episode of *Bronco Billy*, would go out to open country near Niles, set up camera in one location and shoot a large portion of the

sequences. In fact, most of the really dangerous action is done by stunt men or women who are well trained, well padded, and well paid. It was not always so. In the early days, many performers were reluctant to admit they could not do anything they were asked to do. Hoot Gibson, Tom Mix, Bill Hart, and many of their contemporaries could qualify as stunt men for some of the jobs they did. The women, too, as I learned early in those films with Helen Gibson.

Another misconception about Hollywood, at least as the viewing public the world over came to think of it, had to do with its geographical location. Some have described Hollywood as "a state of mind." A more acerbic pundit dubbed it "the state of the mindless." Whichever term one prefers, it is an incontestable fact that Hollywood is not—and never really was—the exclusive geographical home of the film industry. True, it was within the physical confines of the Hollywood area that De Mille, Griffith, Chaplin, the Brothers Warner, Sam Goldwyn, and the numerous producers on "Poverty Row" all built their studios. But just as many so-called Hollywood studios, even then, were in the environs: among them, Kalem in Glendale; Mack Sennett in Edendale; Selig in Lincoln Park; Thomas Ince's and later MGM in Culver City; Universal and Republic in parts of Lankershim, later redesignated as Universal City and Studio City.

For the present day actor, getting to work or an interview at any of those outlying studios is a relatively simple matter. The odds are that he has a car and there is a network of freeways to drive it on; not in the early days. Far fewer owned a car. Certainly we did not. So the answer was the streetcar (long gone, alas, from Los Angeles streets). Consider the problem of getting from where I lived near Sanborn Junction (where the Santa Monica Boulevard and Hollywood Boulevard car lines joined east of Vermont) to Ince's—some fifteen miles to the southwest on Washington Boulevard in Culver City. It was not too bad a trip in the morning, starting out at six for a seven-thirty makeup call. But coming home after a ten-hour day on the set, it could be a wearying and seemingly endless journey.



An orphanage scene from *Daddy Long Legs* in which True Boardman, Jr., plays a boy who has knocked down a jar of jam from the kitchen shelf. He has completely covered his face in shame, and Mary Pickford is questioning another boy.

Etna Ross (playing Helen Keller as a child) and True Boardman, Jr. (as Helen's "boyfriend") in a still from *Deliverance*, produced in 1919 by the Helen Keller Film Corporation. It was during his work on this film that True Boardman met Helen Keller and Anne Sullivan.





Virginia True Boardman in a twenties silent film, *Where Is My Wandering Boy Tonight*, playing a long-suffering mother awaiting the return of her prodigal son.

A job at Universal was closer—the Hollywood line out to the corner of Hollywood and Cahuenga and then waiting there for a ride over the pass. Hitchhiking was not a perjorative term in those days and many drivers stopped and gave you a ride if they had room, and sometimes even if they did not, especially fellow actors. And the ride over Cahuenga Pass was really something before a succession of highway engineers ruined it a few years later. Where now a mass of freeway traffic races up and over the deeply and widely cleft leveled-out Pass (historic site of a famous battle in 1846 between Mexicans and Americans—total casualties, one mule) then there was only a winding, two-lane switchback road. In fact, the proof of a good car was its ability to make it over the pass in high.

My most unforgettable trip from work at a studio as a youngster involved a much shorter journey. It was my route home alone at night when I was working on the Helen Keller picture (*Deliverance*) at the Billy Brunton Studio (later Paramount). I had to walk from Melrose Avenue up Van Ness to the streetcar on Santa

Monica, which meant, for most of the way, going along the edge of the Hollywood Cemetery (where Rudolph Valentino was to be interred). To an eight year old that route at seven o'clock on an already dark winter night was one to be traversed faster than his tired legs would have desired. But he made it—on not one but many nights—albeit on the other side of the street from the graveyard. There is a wall there now and I drive past rather than walking, but still with a speed born of the memory of those winter nights.

Getting to or from one of the studios in Poverty Row involved no such hazard. It consisted of a series of small independent outfits, most of them in the three-block area between Van Ness and Vine Streets on Sunset Boulevard or in "Gower Gulch," down Gower from Sunset. Here were mostly marginal producers, usually turning out films on minuscule budgets. Among them were the producers of the Stern Brothers Comedies, about whom a legend that, as with so many early Hollywood legends, may or may not be authentic. The story is that during a sneak preview of one of their comedies the audience began to laugh at the ridiculous ineptness of the film, obviously at the wrong places. One of the Stern brothers was sitting directly behind a particularly loud offending guffawer. Having stood the insult to his creation long enough, he leaned forward, tapped the man on the shoulder, and said sternly, "My friend, I'll have you know the Stern Brothers Comedies are not to be laughed at."

Most of the Poverty Row productions were either Westerns or comedies. My own involvement was in a projected "kid" series intended to outrival the already established *Our Gang* troupe. The idea was to have us youngsters play the adult roles in "tab" versions of well-known plays. The first one chosen was *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. I was cast as the auctioneer, and while I prefer to believe that it was not my performance alone that sold the whole project down the river, somehow the series never got off the

A still from a two-reeler featuring Shirley Temple a year before she came to fame in *Little Miss Marker*. Virginia True Boardman is playing Shirley's mother.



ground. In effect, we opened and closed with *Uncle Tom*, while *Our Gang* went on to the ultimate immortality of television. In any case, far more memorable for me were to be the jobs I had working with such luminaries as Pickford, Chaplin, and Helen Keller.

The film in which I was involved with Mary Pickford, like many of her films, is preserved and is in the Library's archives. It is *Daddy Long Legs*—and my role was minuscule and one, unlike the Chaplin experience, of which I have no definite remembrances, except that Miss Pickford seemed considerate and friendly to those of us who worked with her in the orphanage sequence. I do recall a scene in which I knocked down a jar of jam from a kitchen shelf and Mary came in and discovered my great sin. In recent years, before her death, I wrote to Miss Pickford asking if perhaps there was in her files a still of that scene. Through her manager I received a note in reply, enclosing the one still they had of the sequence. Sure enough, there was Mary in her orphanage dress, with three orphan boys, one of whom had completely covered his face in shame. I was, of course, the unrecognizable lad with the covered face. It would never stand up in court as evidence that I was there, but I was.

The experience of working with Helen Keller at about that same time (1917) was one no eight year old could possibly ever forget or fail to treasure. The film was *Deliverance*, Miss Keller's own production of her life story (later to be dramatized far more successfully, first as the play and then the film *The Miracle Worker*). Helen Keller did not play herself in the film, but she guided the writing and the production of the screenplay. It was in her latter capacity that we youngsters who were principals in the first half of the film (I played the role of the youngster who was a sort of boyfriend of Helen's at age eight or nine) had close and meaningful contact with Helen Keller and that equally remarkable woman, Anne Sullivan. Anne, who had been her teacher and lifetime companion, carefully and meticulously taught us the finger-spelling language which enabled us to "talk" into the palm of Miss Keller, to

which she responded with the labored but understandable speech she had mastered with such great difficulty. To view that film after more than sixty years, as I did recently in a Library screening room, evoked moving memories of that rare contact with one of the century's incredible women.

The film in which I was lucky enough to work with Chaplin was *Shoulder Arms*, his 1918 classic interpretation of a World War I doughboy. Unfortunately, while the film survives as released, the original seven-reel version, which included Charlie's (the soldier's) home life before he went overseas, does not. It was as one of the two sons of that precombat family that I worked with the grand master. I probably got the job through Chaplin's cameraman, Rollie Totheroh, whom we had known since the Niles days, and who, on learning my father had recently died, persuaded Chaplin to hire me because my mother was in financial straits. Of two principal memories of Chaplin, one is indicative of his idiosyncracies and the other of his kindness.

We were shooting a sequence at the beach in Santa Monica and Charlie took us kids to lunch at what was then the one and only beach club. As we were waiting for our food, Charlie took up each piece of silverware before him, dipped it in his glass of water, and dried it with his napkin. And as we proceeded to emulate him, he warned us that silver in a restaurant is never clean. We should rewash it ourselves. Later in the meal, he used two of those prewashed forks to puncture a pair of French rolls on the table and delighted us with the "dance of the rolls," in a preview performance of what was to prove a memorable highlight of his later film, *The Gold Rush*.

The other incident was on the street of his then brand-new La Brea Avenue studio in Hollywood. One lunchtime I had somehow gotten hold of one of Charlie's canes and a derby and was practicing the ducklike shuffle and cane twirl for which he was famous. Suddenly, behind me, I heard Charlie's voice saying, "If you're going to do it, True, my lad, do it right." With which he took the cane from me and spent ten minutes coaching my Chaplinesque technique as various members of cast and crew gathered around.

Charlie then ordered a final performance from me, which, being given, the assembled cast applauded, and Charlie, too—a rare moment for an eight year old.

My father's Hollywood career had begun to be even more promising after he left Kalem and starred in features for other companies, including *The Doctor and the Woman* for Lois Weber, one of the first woman directors. Unfortunately, the promise was cut short by his untimely death in 1918, leaving Virginia (my mother) and me, now eight, to carry on. Often she would be doing a film at one studio while I worked at another, neither of us in star category, but simply taking what jobs we could get, often at very low salaries, just to keep alive.

Actually, Virginia played significant roles in a number of the silents of the twenties, including *Riders of the Purple Sage*, starring Dustin Farnum and *Where Is My Wandering Boy Tonight*, in which she was the long-suffering mother awaiting the return of her prodigal son, played by Cullen Landis. I have reviews attesting to her fine performance in that film. Incidentally, early on—although she was a beautiful woman and only in her early thirties—she opted to be a “character woman” and found her greatest success in such roles. Her chief venture out of that category was in the series of two-reelers featuring little Shirley Temple in the year just preceding the super child stardom for “Curlylocks” that came with *Little Miss Marker*. Virginia played her mother. Still later, Virginia gave another fine performance in the supporting cast of *Carnival*, one of the earliest talkies starring Claudette Colbert and Walter Huston. As are several of the other films in which she appeared, *Carnival* is preserved in the Library's archives. For me they are, as I see them run again, “living” monuments to a valiant woman.

My own continuing activity in the silent years brought contact with other famed stars and directors of the period, including Bessie Barriscale, in a film whose title I do not recall, and director Hobart Henley in *The Flirt* where, as the goody-goody boy of the neighborhood, I had a fight with the local bully, played by Fred Messenger (later one of Holly-



True Boardman, Jr., in a film with Bessie Barriscale, circa 1920.

wood's leading casting directors). My reigning memory is that Fred, who was supposed to be the loser in that contest, forgot that fact in the first take and nearly whaled the daylights out of me. We shot it over, and that time I won. But I knew in my heart by then who really could have won. And some day I may forgive him.

The highlight of my career as a kid actor involves irony. It is the one time I was a star, and unfortunately no print of *Michael O'Halloran* has survived. Produced by the famous novelist of the day, Gene Stratton Porter (*Girl of the Limberlost*, *Freckles*, etc.), it was the overly sentimental story of a newsboy who adopts a very ill younger girl and finally, through his dauntless determination and faith, restores her to health. Ethelyn Irving, still a close friend of mine, was the little girl, Peaches, and Irene Rich and William Boyd (later to be Hopalong Cassidy) were the older stars.

Another family legend springs from that film. A climactic sequence involved young Mickey,

alone in the attic room he has shared with Peaches, now gravely ill in the hospital. James Leo Meehan, son-in-law of Gene Stratton Porter and directing his first film, was determined to give it "creative distinction." This scene was a great place to experiment. Try it with a dawn effect, try it with rain on the window, then with fog; try it in virtual darkness—try it, try it. The only trouble was that Mickey had to be crying through *all* of these tries. Well, I had learned early on to cry on cue and for take after take I managed to do so. But somewhere late in the second day and around take 55, even though the off-scene trio which always accompanied dramatic scenes was wailing forth with "Humoresque," when Mr. Meehan called out, "All right, True, now say the prayer—and let's see those tears," nothing happened. Oh, I spoke the lines, but no tears came. I heard the director say, "Cut. We'll try it again." And we did—again and again, still dryly and in vain.

It was then that Leo Meehan called for my mother. An atypical stage mother, she made it a habit not to stay right on the set, but to always be available if needed. Meehan explained the situation to her. They needed tears and I would not cry. A little testily she reminded him that I had been crying for two days, but she would see what she could do. Then she took me with her to an out-of-sight spot behind the set, knelt down and took my face in her hands as she gravely said, "True, they tell me you can't cry for the scene." I tried to interrupt that I had cried and wanted to, but that I could not anymore. Still holding me, she went on, "You can't cry? Where is our family tradition? Your grandmother, your father, the fine actors that they were. What would they think to hear that? What are they thinking now? Do you really want me to go back to Mr. Meehan and tell him that the son of True Boardman can't cry when . . .?" She did not have to go any further. Tears were already flooding down my cheeks; so she all but ran me back into the set and said to Leo Meehan, "Shoot your scene. He's ready."

To my mother's dying day, we could still laugh recalling that incident. As for the picture, because of distribution problems, it was not released until nearly two years after completion. And when it was shown, I got some excellent

reviews. The only problem was that when a casting director, such as Fred Datig at Paramount, called me for another part, based on just having seen me as Mickey, a not-too-strange transformation had taken place. Between twelve and fourteen I had grown six inches. My kid stardom hopes were gone. So came about the only two years of my life when I was not in some form of show business—years in which I worked as a grocery clerk and a stock boy, sold box lunches on Sunset Boulevard, ran an elevator, and for several months hooked rides out to Beverly Hills and Falcon Lair to earn the munificent sum of one dollar an hour teaching English, Berlitz-method, to Rudolf Valentino's nephew, Jean, whom he had just brought over from Italy.

I probably should have been more impressed with working for the reigning screen idol of the day. After all, my high school, Hollywood, had just named its football team "The Sheiks." But at the time he was only my rarely seen employer—gracious, distantly friendly, and, through his housekeeper, paying my munificent stipend regularly. Occasionally, after lessons, he rode me back down the hill in his Isotta Fraschini (by all odds the most splendid car I shall ever see) and on one such occasion casually presented me with an antique Italian match case, which I still have cached away. Unfortunately, it does not bear the initials R.V., so my grandchildren must take my word for it that it once was, indeed, the great lover's.

Following the hiatus of those two years, I was back in the business again, and a many-faceted professional life lay ahead. First, several years in the theatre—on both coasts—acting in road shows, stock companies and on Broadway; working at various times with such stars as Ruth Chatterton, Lou Wolheim, Clark Gable, William Faversham, Willard Mack, and Lou Tellegen. Then it was back to Hollywood for films with Cecil B. De Mille and others.

The print of De Mille's biblical epic, *The Sign of the Cross*, in the Library's archives bears the copyright date 1932 and is the next clue I found there of those roots I was seeking. Seeing this film again, I recalled the hopes and ambitions of a twenty-one-year-old "Broadway" actor, who



had returned to the Hollywood of his childhood with high hopes which were never to be realized, at least not as a film actor. He is there in the film—particularly in the dungeon scenes—as, with other fated Christians, he is forced up the steps to the Coliseum to be fed to the waiting lions. It was a sequence which led me to a feeling of personal antagonism for De Mille, great though he was, which still endures. The scene involved my helping an older slave woman, played by the fine character actress, Claire McDowell, up the stairs from the dungeon. She was to be crying—calling out her agony—even as she prayed to the Lord. Time and again we shot the scene. De Mille was never satisfied and finally bawled out Claire so ruthlessly that everyone on the set, myself included, was ready to garotte him. Then later, following other scenes, that he had found displeasing, he gathered the cast together just before lunch break and told the assembled crowd, over the megaphone, that unless we all paid more attention we would “lose our liberties.” There was a long moment of angry silence, then from somewhere in the rear of the crowd came a voice shouting “Give us liberty or give us death!” De Mille was livid. “Who said that?” he asked. Again silence, until a tall young blonde

At the right is True Boardman, Jr., playing the goody-goody of the neighborhood in Hobart Henley's *The Flirt*. At left is the local bully, played by Fred Messenger (later one of Hollywood's leading casting directors).

far in the back raised her hand, saying “I did, Mr. De Mille.” He ordered her before him and asked her name. “They call me Iceland,” she replied, still defiant. De Mille glared at her a moment, then laughed and said, “You’re right. Everybody go to lunch.” And legend, at least, has it that the girl from Iceland was cast in every subsequent film De Mille made. Arbitrary and impossible as he often was, it is evident there were chinks in the De Mille armor.

From films, I made a gradual transition into radio, with my performing becoming secondary to my writing as a career. A few hundred radio scripts plus a few score film and television screenplays later (many of which are in the Library's archives), I can still look back with special fondness to those early film days.

I suppose there is no doubt that nostalgia colors the past. But having been part of Hollywood for most of my life, I cannot help believing





that in its beginning years the town was somehow warmer and more friendly than now. There was a spirit of adventure about the place in those early years. Companies working together, even whole studios, had an atmosphere of "family." There was fun in the business, and graciousness: the *Bronco Billy* cast laughing when I fired the shotgun, Charlie Chaplin taking time to teach me his duck walk, Snooky kissing my cheek after she bit me, Leo Meehan apologizing for making me cry for two whole days and Valentino giving me the match box. Memories all, which seeing the films in the Library of Congress helped to revive. Beyond question, the Library of Congress is a national treasure for all, but certainly for me its film archives have proven to be a personal treasure.

Born into the theater, son of an early silent film star, TRUE BOARDMAN has had a notable career as a writer and actor in the theater, films, radio, and television. He made his debut at eight weeks in the Seattle stock company where his father was leading man and his mother was the ingenue. His first film role was at fifteen months in a silent epic starring William Desmond.

One of Hollywood's leading radio dramatists, he contributed to such shows as "Lux Radio Theater,"

True Boardman, Jr., starred in *Michael O'Halloran*, Gene Stratton Porter's sentimental story of a newsboy who adopts a sick girl, Peaches (played by Ethelyn Irving). Mike finds Peaches all alone and ill, but through his dauntless determination and faith he restores her to health and we see her reaching out to him, guided by William Boyd (later to play Hopalong Cassidy).

"Hollywood Hotel," "The Charles Boyer Theater," "Screen Guild Theater," and "The Silver Theater." In screenplay writing, his extensive credits run the gamut from Abbott and Costello movies to *The Arabian Nights*. He began writing for television in 1946 and has continued through the years with scripts for "NBC Television Theater," "Colgate Playhouse," "Perry Mason," "The Virginian," "Bonanza," and "Ironside."

He was an organizing charter member of the American Federation of Radio Artists and the Radio Writers' Guild, serving on their boards of directors as well as on those of the Authors' League, The Writers' Guild of America, and the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. He was also one of the founding officers of the Armed Forces Radio Service during World War II. He is currently chairman of the Documentary Committee of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.

All illustrations courtesy of True Boardman.

The Bulletin

October 1933



Journalism Behind Bars

BY JAMES M. MORRIS

In 1913, as another humid Georgia summer drew to a close, two inmates of the federal penitentiary in Atlanta gazed through a window at a group of prisoners working in the yard below.

The workers' listless pace prompted one of the observers to ask his elderly companion, the main writer for the prison newspaper, "Why don't you write a piece about the aimlessness of prison work?"

Julian Hawthorne liked the suggestion. A distinguished-looking man with a drooping white mustache, the only son of author Nathaniel Hawthorne had been having similar thoughts about his own undemanding job. Now in his late sixties and serving time for mail fraud, Hawthorne had managed to escape the tedium of conventional prison labor by writing for the inmates' monthly paper, *Good Words*. Yet his prison journalistic work, comparatively interesting though it was, was still a long way from that of his previous life as a prolific novelist and editor for the *New York World*.

So in the October issue of *Good Words*, Hawthorne followed his friend's suggestion and penned a biting article attacking empty, make-work prison jobs. "Men in jail have killed themselves, or done such desperate acts that would lead to their killing because of the aimlessness of a jail routine," he angrily wrote under his pen name No. 4435. "No government, no community, has a right to keep men idle or aimless, least of all, men in jail."

Cover from October 1933 issue of the *Bulletin* from San Quentin.

In venting his anger in the prison newspaper over intolerable conditions or in simply setting down his observations about life behind bars, Hawthorne was adding his name to a long list of inmates who had been doing the same for more than a hundred years. In fact, prisoners have been publishing their own newspapers and magazines almost since the first prison walls were erected. But while many have heard of prison authors O. Henry and Jack Abbott, most prison journalists have remained largely unknown beyond the walls of their penal institutions.

The Library of Congress possesses an unrivaled prison periodical collection, which includes what are probably the only existing copies of Hawthorne's paper, *Good Words*. The collection offers a rich, untapped source of information about life in penal institutions over the last 180 years, written by the men and women who inhabited them. Equally important, the story of America's fourth estate behind bars is a fascinating tale.

As far as we know, prison journalism was born in the squalor of New York City's debtors' prison. William Keteltas, an attorney incarcerated there, embarked in the spring of 1800 on a novel plan to win his release. An articulate, well-educated, and clever fellow, he decided to wage a campaign to end the imprisonment of debtors. "Finding it impossible to do this by petition, as forcibly as through the medium of a paper," he wrote, "I have determined to attempt the establishment of one for this expressed purpose."

On March 24, 1800, the first issue of *Forlorn*

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Established 1900 Issued Monthly

FOUR STEPS AND TURN

By Georgia



ARE you waiting—waiting—back-ward, forward, backward and forward—in a weary, monotonous plying with idle mind and drifting thought, while in the solitude of your room, during the early watches of the evening—that period of unintermitted opportunity for mental development—so beneficial in the future and so absolutely necessary for the overcoming of the present trials and difficulties, which so frequently overwhelm us and leave us in a submissive attitude, prone upon the field and less capable of fighting manfully and courageously the enemy as he returns to battle, clothed in the conqueror's robes, and strengthened by victory.

On are you standing at the door with your face pressed against the bars, sunk in the depth of melancholy thought, listlessly reviewing the past, as time laden with golden opportunities flows by your headless touch? While you recall the events of the past—the good, the bad and the indifferent—

Prisoners
The greatly increasing number of youthful offenders is a subject that is at present causing much discussion. Some of those who are studying the problem believe that the public schools are at fault. They are complaining in their criticism of the school system that in regard to a complete change as first education will be purchased a "long industrial prison." Each all pupils a trade in their slippers. However efficacious this change might be in reducing the number of older offenders, it would do nothing towards lessening the large number of juvenile transgressors. The solution to the problem of delinquent children must be found by going back further than school life—in so it may be found in the make-up of the children themselves. It is not unusual that nearly all of these children come from homes where either poverty or crime is the cause of their delinquency. In many cases the children are found to be mentally defective. The remedy would appear to be state supervision.

Hand-cut contents and op-ed pages from the *Mentor*, Massachusetts state prison.



began to grow as humanitarian reformers succeeded in substituting incarceration for the traditional punishments of flogging, mutilation, and hanging.

Ironically, toward the end of the nineteenth century, reform groups found themselves clamoring for improvements in the intolerable conditions that had rapidly developed in the new, supposedly more humane penitentiaries. In 1870 reformers, enlightened prison officials, and philanthropists gathered in Cincinnati for the first American Prison Congress. The delegates devised many different plans for improving the sordid conditions in prisons and making new men and women out of the growing hordes of criminals languishing there. A Philadelphia delegate, Joseph Chandler, first suggested creating a newspaper especially designed for inmates.

But corrections officials feared that newspapers, with their lurid accounts of crime and other nasty occurrences, would undo the state's efforts to make honest citizens of its wards.

Illustration from the Atlanta federal penitentiary's *Good Words*, October 1913. This is the earliest known political cartoon in a prison publication.

LEAVENWORTH NEW ERA

DEVOTED TO THE BEST INTERESTS OF PRISONERS EVERYWHERE

VOL. 1

LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS, FEBRUARY 27, 1914

No. 1



MAIN ENTRANCE TO THE UNITED STATES PENITENTIARY AS IT WILL APPEAR WHEN COMPLETED

A Sherlock Holmes Tells a Crook By Footprints

**This Wonderful "Ologist" Folded
His Tent and Silently
Stole Away.**

WHILE the war correspondent was making his daily rounds of the institution, "The Old Timer," as he is best known, stopped him. "Say, my good man, do you want a story about the most wonderful man in the world?" Being assured that his mission on earth was to report such data, O. T. related the following:

"Of course we have a few very wonderful men behind these walls, but the man I want to describe is a marvel still at large. He is one of those 'ologists.' I think they call penologists, or some sort of conjurers. This man experimented on quite a few of our boys, while they were suffering with a new sort of fever, and in the majority of cases he actually told them what they were thinking about; and furthermore, what they would think about months, and years hence.

"This 'ologist' is certainly some mind reader when it comes to fortelling events, as well as a man's past life. He can actually look at a track in the snow and tell whether it was made by a 'crook' or an honest man. It was too dry last summer to make tracks on the farm, so this sooth-

ELLOW prisoners, we salute you, and extend the hand of sincere good-fellowship. Let us "reason together" from time to time in an earnest endeavor to make prison life really worth while. It is up to us to either make good or the reverse, and, by hearty co-operation, we hope to accomplish much good.

THE NEW ERA has an object in view—a definite purpose. In the world of journalism there must be messages from men who are either in the "slough of despond," or have successfully waded through it, and it is our earnest wish to offer a message of sunshine through the dark clouds of adversity. We hope to help men in various ways. It is our mission to gather messages of good cheer and convey them to the men behind prison walls.

To help men to help themselves, to be patient under necessary restrictions, encourage cheerfulness in adversity, extend hope for the future, to assist them to re-establish themselves as honest, upright citizens, is our aim.

sayer suggested a system of sprinkling the land by means of overhead pipes.

Some of the boys in the farm gang said he suggested putting the entire farm into red onions (the strong kind) and feed them to the men as a daily life-staff."

When asked if this wonderful psychologist, sociologist or penologist, would return here again, the O. T. smiled dismally and said: "No, he will probably never come back! He has gone to join the other 'ologists' to seek pastures new. Oh yes! the people

are easily fooled, and the bigger the humbug the better they like it." Just at this part of the story his pipe went out.

We are in the market, at current rates, for high-class human interest stories, choice verse and literary gems. Brush away mental cobwebs and get busy—there's money in it.

In subsequent issues we expect to run a better class of dope, including rich and racy articles from noted writers—behind the bars.

Recent Revolt Proves Value of "Honor System"

**Oklahoma Prison Warden Will
continue to Use Gentle Re-
formatory Measures.**

WHILE there will be no curtailing of privileges to convicts in the Oklahoma Penitentiary as a result of the recent riot in which seven men, including three prison officials and three prisoners, were killed. Instead of being dismayed in his policy of leniency toward "honor men," Warden R. W. Dick is more than ever convinced that there is justice in his management of the penitentiary.

"Some people have contended that the trusty system is a failure and cite the trouble we have just had as an evidence of their assertion," said Warden Dick.

"To my mind, it was the supreme test of our system of discipline and the result has made me more firmly convinced than ever that the system is right. Not only did the trusties aid the prison officials in their attempt to recapture the fugitives, but assistance was also given by the men from the cells, and while the prison doors stood wide open for a period of several minutes in the midst of excitement, not a man, outside the three, tried to escape. It was the acid test that the right kind of treatment will (Concluded on page four)

"The admission of the daily newspaper in 1870," a warden conceded at the 1905 prison congress, "would have been considered a conspiracy against the safety of the prison." But Chandler maintained that prisons were creating "Rip Van Winkles" by keeping the inmates ignorant of the world outside. Furthermore, he argued, a paper, cleansed of objectionable news, would serve as a common channel of information about the prison, provide a way to reach the inmates, and give them a forum in which to express their "sentiments, purposes, and hopes."

The first prison to take up Chandler's suggestion was New York State's Elmira Reformatory, a model of the reformers' latest ideas. Elmira officials began publishing the *Summary* in the fall of 1883, allowing inmates to write, lay out, and print the weekly. The paper featured a digest of current news from the outside, reports on prison activities, and choice essays from prison classes.

The *Summary* made an enormous hit with the reformers, who subscribed to it in droves. To please them, the paper added a page devoted solely to news of the prison reform movement. As with many of the Elmira Reformatory's innovations, the *Summary* soon had its imitators. Prison papers sprang up in at least a dozen states during the 1880s and 1890s. Reform-minded wardens or chaplains began most of them, but a few were started solely by inmates.

"During the last five years," wrote an editor of the *Summary* in the spring of 1888, "a journalistic phenomena in the form of prison newspapers has sprung up. . . . Five years ago there were not, we believe, two newspapers published in the prisons throughout the United States. Today the list of prison papers would be a startling long one."

Two of the most interesting papers of this era are the *Prison Mirror*, published at the Minnesota state prison, and the *Mentor*, published at the Massachusetts state prison. Unlike the *Summary*, both were begun solely by inmates and as a result make much livelier reading.

The *Mirror* is still around today, though

Volume 1, number 1, issue of Leavenworth federal penitentiary's *New Era*, February 27, 1914.



Caricature of editor in March 1, 1914, issue of the *Joliet Prison Post*, Joliet, Illinois.

greatly changed, and is now the country's oldest continuously published inmate newspaper. The *Mirror* was the idea of an enterprising inmate, Lew P. Shoonmaker, who in 1887 convinced the warden to let him start it. Shoonmaker raised the necessary capital through loans from fellow inmates, with one-fourth of the money coming from the Younger brothers, who were part of the Jesse James gang. The brothers had been sentenced to the state prison for their unsuccessful attempt to rob the Northfield, Minnesota, bank.

The first issue of the *Mirror* appeared on August 7. Shoonmaker promised his readers that the paper's management would operate "without official interference." Unfettered by the heavy hand of censorship, the *Mirror* was an immediate success. In six months, Shoonmaker had paid back his investors, with interest.

Not everyone was enthusiastic about the prison's new publication. The state's leading newspaper, the *Minneapolis Tribune*, took the *Mirror* to task for reprinting unflattering remarks about the prison's former warden, who was under investigation for mismanagement of state funds.

SEPTEMBER IS THE MONTH OF RAIN WITH US

LOCAL ITEMS



Melon, melon, everywhere, but
not a rind today.

It's not always a still night when the moonshiners work.

Two hundred pounds

THE TEAM which Hooper brought to us two weeks ago was not the slouches that sometimes hang around the ball fields and call themselves players. From what we could see they were all snappy ballmen.

Hooper himself was the surprise. Nobody thought that he could pitch the brand of ball he served the Sox. And the support he was given enabled him to make them fight their best to win the game.

All in all, it was one of the very best games we have had this year. A good, clean cut game, with pep in it from the time "Play ball!" was heard until the last out was made. We hope that there will be another game of equal interest tomorrow.

WHITE SOX							Monday, September 6, 1920							TOPFLERS						
AB	R	H	PO	A	E		AB	R	H	PO	A	E								
Clare.....	CF	4	0	0	2	0	Bowman.....	3B	4	0	0	1	6	2						
Garr.....	SS	4	0	1	2	2	Anderson.....	2B	4	0	0	3	0	0						
Case.....	2B	4	0	0	0	1	Hartman.....	1B	4	0	0	10	0	0						
Willis.....	1B	4	1	1	5	0	Vix.....	CF	4	1	2	9	0	0						
Wynne.....	3B	3	0	0	1	0	Young.....	CF	4	0	0	0	0	0						
Whitten.....	4	0	1	0	0	0	Sieged.....	LF	3	0	0	0	0	0						
Barrett.....	LF	3	1	1	2	0	Matetzka.....	RF	3	0	0	0	0	0						
Webb.....	C	3	0	0	13	1	Hopfer.....	SS	1	0	0	0	3	1						
Sherill.....	P	0	0	0	0	0	Folsom.....	P	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Total		30	2	5	27	4	Total		32	1	2	24	11	0						

SCORE BY INNINGS:	Tofflers	0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	R	H	E
	White Sox	1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	1	2	3

LOCAL ITEMS



The Boss says it will be dry.
Briggs' batting average is now less than .914.

All the speed we had was well shown Labor Day.

Sports page illustrations from Leavenworth prison's *New Era*, September 17, 1920.

"A careful examination of the recent issues of the *Prison Mirror*," intoned the *Tribune* on October 23, 1887, "compels the frank opinion that it ought to be summarily suppressed or else reformed in all its departments."

The Minneapolis paper said the *Mirror* not only had published offensive remarks about the ex-warden but "prints current criminal news and is allowed to comment freely and in shockingly bad taste upon inside prison matters." All of this was in marked contrast to the *Summary*, which the *Tribune* considered "a perfect model of high toned, interesting and well-edited little weekly journal." The storm eventually passed without the suppression of the *Mirror*. Ironically, the *Tribune* eighty years later hired a *Mirror* editor upon his release from prison.

The *Mirror* was the most important and long-lasting prisoner-launched publication but not the most unusual. That designation is reserved for the *Mentor*, a small monthly published at the Massachusetts state prison. Two inmates began publishing the *Mentor* in November 1900, using a mimeograph machine purchased with money donated by fifty prisoners. Each issue was entirely hand-lettered by one of the founders, Emil Kemp, who was serving a life sentence. Sitting in his cell at night, Kemp carved the lettering into a handmade wax paper stencil with a steel stylus. His nightly output averaged two pages, many of which had ornate illustrations to accompany the text.

Once cut, the stencil was stretched out on a frame, placed on a blank sheet of paper, and

[illegible]

Front page of the *Weekly Island Lantern*, April 5, 1935. Published at McNeil Island prison, Washington.



Front page of December 10, 1937, issue of the *Weekly Island Lantern* with typical news stories of interest to convicts.

inked. The pages were then assembled, bound, and trimmed. The two inmates published 150 copies each month for circulation among the institution's eight hundred prisoners.

"The reason for using this process," explained Kemp in the March 1907 issue, "is partly to carry out the idea of the handwritten periodicals from which the *Mentor* was evolved, and for the artistic sense which seeks and finds its expression in the process intimately connected with handicraft." The result was a beautiful publication.

About this time the federal government decided to get into the prison business. Previously, the government had paid states to keep federal prisoners; now it started building its own peni-

tentiaries. With the new prisons came a new group of prison periodicals, many of which today survive only on the shelves of the Library of Congress.

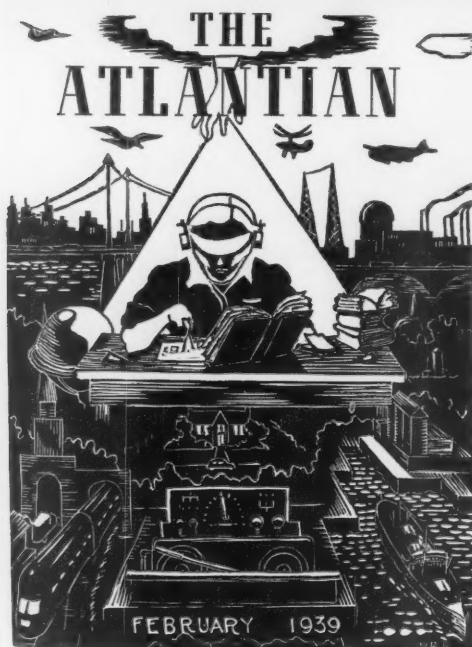
The first newspaper from a federal prison was *Good Words*. But except for the year Hawthorne wrote for it, *Good Words* offered mostly dull and uninspired fare. Leavenworth penitentiary's *New Era*, on the other hand, chronicled prison life in a much sprightlier fashion.

Begun in 1914, *New Era* was the federal prison system's most vigorous advocate of inmate rights. Its concern for all inmates throughout the system distinguished it from other prison papers, which were usually more parochial. *New Era's* editors believed that all prisoners should take part in the struggle to improve prisons. In their many reform campaigns, the editors regularly called on other prison newspapers to join them in the fight. The April 10, 1914, issue, for example, exhorted other prison editors to help convince the federal government to increase the amount of money it gave to inmates upon their release. "Let us fill our ink bottles, get a fresh supply of pen points, and go to it."

Many unusual people were associated with *New Era* over its sixty-year life. Charles Ashleigh, an organizer of the radical Industrial



"Some Cons That We Won't Miss. The bird that grabs your coffee cup by the top and flavors your java with his fingers." The *Weekly Island Lantern*, January 15, 1977.



Cover of February 1939 issue of the *Atlantian*, Atlanta federal penitentiary.



Life's little disappointments.

Cartoon from the *Atlantian*, September 1939.



Caricature of Tom Runyon, editor of the *Presidio*, Iowa state prison, December 1950 issue.

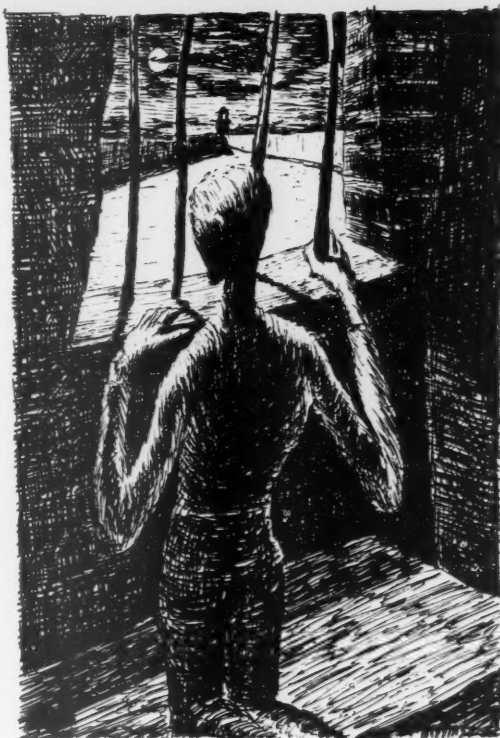
Workers of the World, became a popular columnist in 1918 after the federal government jailed him and the rest of the group's leaders. Years later, *New Era* gained another prominent writer when the well-known explorer Dr. Frederick Cook entered Leavenworth in 1940 for a mail fraud conviction. Cook was especially famous for his claim to have reached the North Pole before Robert Peary. He became editor of *New Era* and used the magazine (it had changed formats over the years) to defend his polar claim and to outline some of his outlandish ideas, such as importing pygmies as house servants.

The best prison magazine during this period was the *Atlantian*, the successor to *Good Words* at the Atlanta prison. The *Atlantian's* editor through the early years was Morris "Red" Rudensky, a former gangster whose long term in prison had brought him in contact with such notables as his cellmate, Al Capone, U.S. Communist Party leader Earl Browder, and Bob Stroud, the "Birdman of Alcatraz." Rudensky's publication grew over the years into a slick, finely produced magazine, which would have been hard to distinguish from those in the outside world had they shared the same newsstand.

Though some of the best prison journalism came from federal penitentiaries, state prison inmates continued to put out remarkable publications. Outstanding ones in the Library's collection include the *Star of Hope* from New York's infamous Sing Sing prison, the *Presidio* from the Iowa state prison, and the *Menard Time* (named after the time inmates do) from the state prison at Menard, Illinois.

The *Star of Hope* was one of the best known, though it lasted only twenty years. It covered the state's entire penal system, featuring columns and reports from each of the prisons. The paper met its end in the spring of 1921 after editor Charles Chapin, ignoring not-too-subtle hints from officials in Albany, printed the memoirs of an inmate serving time for bigamy. "They say a good wife is a rare jewel. I have been a collector of jewels," read the article in the May 1920 issue. The officials said they would not tolerate this kind of material, and Chapin said he would not tolerate their interference. Ten months later, the state shut down the paper.

Chapin's refusal to compromise was typical of



Reflective illustration from spring 1952 issue of the *Atlantian*, Atlanta federal penitentiary.

him. Until he murdered his wife in 1919, he had been city editor of Joseph Pulitzer's *Evening World* and had earned a reputation as an intolerant, independent manager who would fire anyone at the slightest provocation. Now without a newspaper, he spent the remaining years of his life tending a huge rose garden he had built in the prison yard, earning the nickname "Rose Man of Sing Sing."

Chapin is only one example of the many colorful characters in prison journalism over its two-century history. Some, like Chapin, were trained journalists or writers before landing in prison. But most, like depression-era bank robber and murderer Tom Runyon, began their journalistic careers behind bars.

Runyon drew a life sentence in the Iowa state

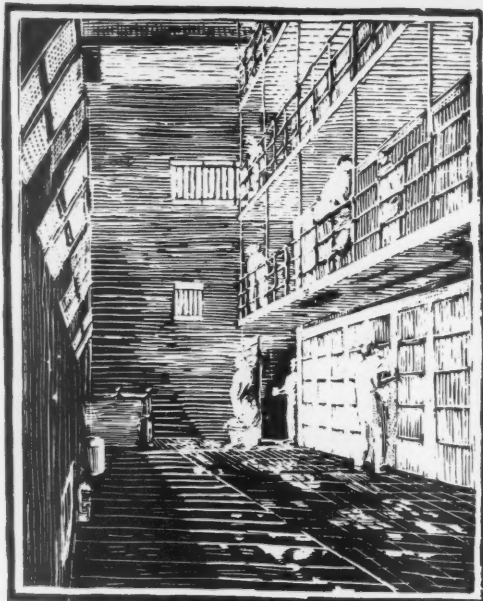


Illustration by convicted soviet spy Rudolph Abel in the *Atlantian*, fall-winter 1959 issue. Abel's prison art career ended abruptly when he was exchanged for downed U-2 pilot Francis Gary Powers in 1962.



Rudolph Abel illustration from summer 1960 *Atlantian*.

prison and took up writing to pass the time. As he said in his autobiography, *In For Life*, it beat "making doilies." Runyon wrote his way onto the staff of the *Presidio*, the prison's monthly magazine, with compelling and poignant profiles of other lifers and their adjustments to a future with no hope of freedom.

One of his best profiles was the tragic story of Ernest "Ole" Lindquist. It appeared in December 1949, the fortieth anniversary of Lindquist's life in prison. Ole came to the United States from Sweden at the age of fifteen; at nineteen, he went to prison for killing a policeman who had shot at him. In his forty years behind bars, he never received a single visitor. When Runyon's profile of him came out, it had been thirty years since he'd received a Christmas present and twenty years since his last personal letter.

Newspapers across the country reprinted Ole's story. The tale brought him bags of presents and letters and eventually won him his release a few years before he died.

Runyon himself was less fortunate. Though his writing attracted the attention of many luminaries, including Earle Stanley Gardner, who campaigned for his release, Runyon died behind bars on April 10, 1957. The *Des Moines Register* and other major newspapers spoke kindly of Runyon upon his death, but the *Presidio* carried the most fitting epitaph. "Thanks to Runyon, lifers in Iowa are no longer forgotten men," wrote his fellow editors in the May issue. "He could help everybody except himself."

Runyon was one of the best of the prison journalists once flourishing in American penitentiaries. Federal prisons no longer have any inmate publications, aside from an occasional literary quarterly. Today's high-quality prison journalism comes from state institutions. For example, the *Angolite*, published at Louisiana's Angola state prison, has received national recognition for its gutsy brand of journalism. By contrast, similar aggressive reporting by the inmates of California's San Quentin, Soledad, and Vacaville prisons ran headlong into state censorship. The inmates countered with a lawsuit, resulting in a ten-year legal battle that has ended up in the state Supreme Court.

Women have been conspicuously absent from the story of prison journalism, primarily because



Rose-colored view of prison officials in the *Presidio*, Iowa state prison, March 1959. Property of the author.

there are comparatively few of them serving time. And those women who are behind bars are generally there for less violent crimes. Consequently, they are housed in smaller, more residential institutions without the printing facilities available in the larger men's prisons. Thus the relatively few women's prison periodicals tend to be sentimental poetry or the products of creative writing classes rather than journalism.

Of course, prisons are hardly conducive to good journalism from either sex. Truth, ever an elusive quality, is even more difficult to find behind bars. And the public's perception of prison life is hazy at best. Prison journalists over the last hundred years have tried to clarify that perception and focus attention on what they consider the many injustices of the system. "After all, if the prisoner is not championed by his own people, just who the hell can he expect to do anything for him?" asked the editors of the *San Quentin News* in 1942. "And how else, except through the prison paper, is his side to be brought forward?"

Julian Hawthorne wrote in the Atlanta penitentiary that the public's ignorance of abuses in penal institutions allowed the inhuman conditions of his day to exist. "Society must doubtless be protected from criminals," he said, "but the criminal may sometimes need protection from society."



JAMES MCGRATH MORRIS is a journalist and amateur historian. He first became acquainted with prison journalism while working as a reporter in Jefferson City, Missouri. Since then his research on the subject has taken him to state archives, libraries, and historical societies, as well as nearly twenty state and federal prisons. With support from the National Press Foundation, he has recently completed a book on prison journalism.

Dedicated to Debating

The Television and Radio Forums of Theodore Granik

BY SARAH DASHIELL ROUSE



As the television program begins, and the series logo appears on the screen, the announcer's voice proclaims, "American Forum of the Air, America's oldest discussion program, now in its twenty-sixth year, dedicated to the full debate of all sides of all issues vital to you and your country." So begins a kinescope of "American Forum of the Air." This particular program, aired October 28, 1956, presents guests Theodore McKeldin and Robert Meyner, then governors of Maryland and New Jersey, respectively, discussing the voters' choices in the upcoming presidential election. At program's end, the production credits roll past. One is significant: "Producer and founder: Theodore Granik."

"Founder" is an unusual television production credit, but a look at the history of "American Forum of the Air" and the life of Theodore Granik reveals that the designation founder is entirely accurate. By the time it went off the air in 1961, the forum had become an institution in broadcasting. This public affairs discussion program ran from 1928, when Granik founded and moderated a weekly radio show in New York City, up through 1960. By then, "American Forum" was a television program originating in Washington, D.C., and Granik's health had forced him to delegate the job of moderator. But the discussion program had survived the transi-

An early radio broadcast of "WOR Forum," forerunner of "American Forum of the Air." In New York City, Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia and Governor Al Smith debate "Proportional Representation" in 1933, while moderator Granik keeps them cool.



This 1942 photograph carried the caption: "Ted Granik starts his fifteenth year of major-league broadcasting and strikes a familiar pose. If you've listened to his 'American Forum of the Air' on Sunday nights, 8:00-8:45 PM EST, you probably have visualized Granik as he's shown here—trying to establish order among his argumentative guests."

tion from radio to television; it had even generated a television spin-off series, "Youth Wants to Know." Theodore Granik had made his mark. His contribution to communications history is in radio and television programming; he founded an informative public affairs program which spanned the eras of both media.

Born in Brooklyn in 1907, the son of Charles (a dry goods store owner) and Minnie, Samuel Theodore Granik, or Ted, as he preferred to be known, entered the College of the City of New York in 1925. During this time, he was introduced to broadcasting when he took a part-time job as secretary to Lee Adam Gimbel, vice-president of Gimbel's department store. To lure customers to the piano department on the eighth floor, the store had set up its own small radio station, WGBS, on the same floor, and Granik soon spent more time in the studio than at his secretarial job. He wrote scripts, reported on prize fights, and substituted when performers failed to appear. In this latter capacity, he often



Taken in 1942, this photograph shows the founder and moderator of "American Forum of the Air" collaborating with his wife Hannah on an upcoming program. The couple worked together on the forum beginning in 1930. When they moved from New York City to Washington, D.C., in 1937, the show moved to Washington, too.

read passages from the Bible. Later, studying law at night at Brooklyn's St. John's University and still working his way through school by doing chores around the radio station, he conceived an idea for a weekly radio program where common legal problems would be discussed in jargon-free language. The show was dubbed "Law for the Layman," and Granik himself served as moderator. He invited St. John's faculty members to participate. One guest was a chief magistrate over whom Granik found himself sloshing ice water: the magistrate had fainted dead away with "mike fright" during the show! Nevertheless, the show was a success, and when radio station WGBS was sold in 1928, the young impresario was offered a chance to continue his forum on radio station WOR.

Law continued as the main topic of discussion on Granik's program. When he announced in the papers a program on the legal aspects of prohibition, a vitriolic temperance group president immediately demanded equal time. Although it was almost unheard of to permit controversial



issues to be discussed on radio without a carefully censored script, Granik persuaded WOR executives that "it might make a hot show."¹ The debate was arranged. The topic was the repeal of prohibition; the speakers were Congressman Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn and Mrs. Ella Boole, president of the Women's Christian



Inset: From the stage at Washington's Shoreham Hotel, the March 28, 1944, "American Forum of the Air" debate featured Representatives John M. Costello (California Democrat), Clare Boothe Luce (Connecticut Republican), James W. Wadsworth (New York Republican), and George E. Outland (California Democrat). The discussion was about "Manpower and the Draft."

This audience packs the house at Washington's Shoreham Hotel on the eighteenth anniversary radio broadcast of "American Forum of the Air," February 26, 1946. As part of each program, members of the audience submitted questions to the participants. "What Should We Do About the British Loan?" was this Tuesday evening's discussion topic.

Temperance Union. When the debate became heated, Mrs. Boole got nervous and reached for a glass of water. As Granik recalled, "She didn't have the glass anywhere near her mouth. The water poured gracefully down the neck of her dress. And she still didn't drop a syllable."² Instead, she furiously charged that some Washington officials had "subterranean passages between their offices and speakeasies."³

Her accusations garnered some national publicity for Granik's program. Consequently, WOR approved Granik's plan to start a series of radio forums in which both sides of an issue could be presented and discussed. Loyal to his ideals, Granik continued this practice throughout the life of the program.

Unfortunately for Granik, WOR paid no salary—only program expenses. But having received his St. John's law degree in 1929 and, subsequently, admission to the New York Bar, he was soon established in a rewarding legal practice. He was therefore able to continue producing the forums without compensation. By 1950, he estimated his own expenses in continuing the show to be \$250,000, with his law practice still footing the bill.⁴

Granik's legal career was distinguished. He was assistant district attorney of New York from 1933 to 1937, then special counsel to the Federal Housing Authority until 1941. Then he was appointed civilian advisor to Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, director of the National Selective Service Administration; Granik helped draft the original Selective Service Act. In 1942 he was named special advisor on public relations to Donald M. Nelson, chairman of the War Production Board, and he also served as counsel to the Senate Select Committees on Small Business and as counsel to the American Business Congress. In addition, by 1950 Granik operated law offices in both Washington and New York.

But throughout his succession of jobs, Granik maintained the radio—and later television—forums as his major interest. He said of his show, "The Forum is my baby. I enjoy producing it because I feel that it's a real public service to bring today's big issues into America's living rooms."⁵ He readily admitted one of the reasons he was so fond of his program was that it permitted him to become friends with important

people and to be "part of the news."⁶ Granik did not mince words: when asked in a 1949 newspaper interview why he worked for nothing, he said, "I'll give you an honest answer. I'm a lawyer and I [do] it for contacts and prestige."⁷

He almost lost his radio show in 1937 when he left New York and WOR to become counselor for the Housing Authority in Washington. Fortunately, WOR became affiliated with the Mutual Broadcasting Company at that time, and the show, by changing its name from "WOR Forum" to "American Forum of the Air" and originating in Washington, continued without a pause.

When the program first began its Washington broadcasts, Granik found congressmen and senators reluctant to appear; they feared the radio program's ad-lib format. But when they learned of the large mail response received by colleagues who had taken the plunge, they soon were clamoring to go on the program.

It was during these Washington years that Granik's show came to national attention. The forum became known on Capitol Hill as the "unofficial Congress" of the United States. By 1950, more than 80 percent of the membership of Congress had appeared on the forum. And it was the only broadcast to be transcribed in the *Congressional Record* each week.

A few of Granik's discussion topics were apolitical, such as "Baseball Forecast of 1952," and "What Are Your Children Reading?" More often, the forums reflected Granik's legal career and business interests: "Do We Need a Universal Military Training Program?"; "Do We Need A New Outlook in Public Housing?"; and "Do Anti-Trust Laws Protect Small Businesses?" But most significant are the topics which offer an outline of American political history of the time: in the early 1930s, "Is the NRA a Menace?"; in 1944, "What to Do with Germany?"; in 1953, "Is Criticism of the House Un-American Activities Committee Justified?"; and in 1956, "How Will Women Vote in '56?"

Granik had some tight squeezes during his radio days—trying to keep participants calm,



having them arrive on time, and generally keeping things running smoothly. Once he went on the air with one of his guests still circling the airfield, trying to land. And daylight savings once caused a timing problem: Florida Sen. Claude Pepper arrived in midbroadcast, snatched his prepared speech from a colleague who had obligingly read most of it for him, and proceeded to read it all over again.

Although there was usually at least one warm exchange between principals each Sunday, downright violence was threatened only twice. During the Roosevelt era, Sherman Minton, then senator from Indiana and later Supreme Court justice, hoisted Michigan's Sen. Clare Hoffman into the air and threatened to throw him into the audience. Another time, the fiery

An incongruous pair, Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (Wisconsin Republican) and Rep. Eugene McCarthy (Minnesota Democrat), refereed by moderator Theodore Granik, discuss "What Is at Stake in the Battle of the Ballots?" on "American Forum of the Air" 's June 22, 1952, telecast from Washington's Wardman Park Hotel. The debaters agreed on foreign policy as a crucial issue, but disagreed on the subject of Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

Gen. Hugh Johnson, NRA chief, almost brained Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida with a microphone. Of course, both these incidents occurred before the days of television, the cooler medium.⁸ It is not surprising that even as late as 1947, Granik drank bicarbonate of soda before and after each broadcast, or that he had

to change out of a wringing wet shirt at program's end!

Martha Rountree, moderator, coproducer with Lawrence E. Spivak, and cooriginator of "Meet the Press" rightly observed that there was "more to moderating than just acting as a combination stopwatch and Emily Post."⁹ Long-lived as moderator of "American Forum of the Air," Ted Granik had his own formula for success. He kept his politics well hidden, remaining neutral, but always, in the opinion of *Radio Mirror*, "firm, hard-headed and diplomatic."¹⁰ He became expert at maneuvering guests away from personal barbs and back to the topic at hand. Granik found that coaching his speakers was helpful, too. His suggestions for speakers included: "Keep it short, speak no more than one minute at a time; be quick on the pickup; don't read from a script; use down-to-earth, simple language; translate abstract principles into terms of common experience; use anecdotes and humor; and above all, know your subject."¹¹

And finally, he said, "The most important virtue a moderator can have is impartiality. . . . One of the chief ways to preserve impartiality is to match speakers of equal ability. Often a U.S. senator or representative will suggest to me that he would like to debate a certain subject with a certain individual, but I never pit them against each other unless I'm sure they're in the same class as speakers."¹²

Although moderator Granik concealed his own political views in the interest of fair play, his son denies he was the "political eunuch" some thought him. Rather, he was a New York City Democrat, his politics rooted in Tammany Hall. After all, he had been New York's assistant district attorney for four years before coming to Washington. And since leaving New York, he maintained close ties with New York City's Wagner clan.

"American Forum of the Air" was a family affair. Hannah Hayne, whom Granik married in 1931, used to go to the Gimbel's radio station with Granik, take shorthand notes of the speeches, type them at once, and divide with Granik the list of newspapers in which he wanted publicity for the program. One would take the uptown list, the other the downtown,

and later, after all the releases had been distributed, the couple would meet at a restaurant to talk and eat.¹³ As long as the forum was on the air the Graniks continued to prepare most of the show themselves over the weekend. Much of it was outlined aboard the Graniks' yacht *Bilmar* (named after young Graniks Bill and Marion) on the Potomac near Washington. In 1947, son Bill, then aged ten, put out a "Granik Gossip Sheet" for his friends. From the looks of it, Bill was also drafted by his mother into the scrapbook detail, though she did the lion's share. Numerous meticulously prepared scrapbooks contain printed transcripts of "American Forum of the Air," as well as hundreds of neatly folded and pasted-in press clippings on each "Forum," all arranged chronologically; these comprise part of the Granik Papers in the Library's Manuscript Division.

The show also required the services of a producer and a secretary to handle details. Together with Mr. and Mrs. Granik, they spent up to fifty hours each week planning the program.¹⁴ Headquarters were Granik's law offices in a Washington office building, a few flights down from radio station WOL and the Mutual Broadcasting offices.

In 1949, Ted Granik and his "American Forum of the Air" became associated with the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). It was the same year that the show was first televised. From then until 1961, a close relationship existed between Granik and NBC. His papers contain ample correspondence between himself and various NBC department heads, including NBC president Robert Sarnoff and his father, Gen. David Sarnoff, chairman of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA).

In the early 1950s, after "American Forum of the Air" had made the leap to television, Ted Granik quipped that he had adapted his successful radio technique to television by altering only one thing: "I follow the instructions of the director who tells me not to lower my head, so that my bald spot won't show."¹⁵ But he did predict that the advent of television would more seriously affect politicians, by "forcing them to abandon long-winded speeches and speak in a



heart-to-heart fashion."¹⁶ He predicted that Sen. Robert A. Taft, because of his conversational, sincere manner, would come into his own on television.

On Sunday, May 22, 1949, the forum had its television premiere on NBC-TV. At first, this television program did not interfere with Mutual's Wednesday night "Forum" radio broadcasts. But by autumn of the same year, the television program was ready to be simulcast. On October 7, 1949, "American Forum of the Air" was simultaneously broadcast over many NBC radio and television stations. On that evening, the show originated in the auditorium of the Department of Interior in Washington.

The radio program had been broadcast from a full auditorium containing from several hundred to a thousand spectators each week. Likewise, the television programs were telecast before a live audience. Tickets to attend the forums were free. The program format included short opening statements from each of the—usually two—guests, and a short discussion of the selected topic, followed by ten or fifteen minutes of questions from the audience. In 1954, around the same time that the program was retitled "The American Forum," the speakers' discussion was allowed to fill the entire half-hour; no time was allotted for audience questions.

A 1953 cartoon "Origin Washington," shows Granik and colleagues: "Top left, Lawrence E. Spivak with his 'Meet the Press' and 'The Big Issue,' Blair Moody and 'Meet Your Congress,' Theodore Granik with his well-regarded 'American Forum of the Air' and his 'Youth Wants to Know,' which are held together by moderator Stuart Finley. Below, Ron Cochran, left, introduces 'Man of the Week,' the District Commissioners and Bryson Rash file 'Your Commissioner's Report,' and Matthew Warren moderates 'Georgetown University Forum.'" The drawing accompanied Laurence Laurent's article "Charge and Countercharge Keep Television Pot Bubbling" in the *Washington Post* of December 6, 1953.

In its radio days in Washington, the show took place at the Willard Hotel until 1942; then it moved to the Shoreham which could accommodate a larger audience. In its early television years of 1949 and 1950, the show originated at the Wardman Park Hotel. The Sheraton Park Hotel (the renamed Wardman) played host in the mid-fifties. Studio audiences were somewhat smaller for the television broadcasts because some of those who formerly had come to the hotel to see the program could now see it without leaving their houses.

In the mid to late fifties, the programs took place in the main ballroom of Washington's Shoreham Hotel. During this time, Washington

was a "dry" city on Sundays. But the show hosted a cocktail reception for its audience following each Sunday afternoon program. Granik thereby provided what his son describes as a "permanent floating cocktail party of Washington intelligentsia." There was no difficulty finding an audience for "American Forum of the Air" in those days, when it was a social occasion as well as an afternoon of stimulating discussion.

Beginning in 1951, Granik's poor health forced him from the position of regular moderator of "American Forum of the Air." That task was subsequently handled by Stuart Finley, Frank Blair, or Stephen McCormick, with Granik returning to his chair as often as he could.

One of the kinescope films acquired by the Library as part of the Granik collection features alternate moderator Stuart Finley. On the show that Sunday, December 6, 1953, the lone guest was Sen. Joseph McCarthy. The discussion itself probably ran an hour, but the telecast was limited to thirty minutes. The program begins with the announcement, "As we join the program, it is already in progress." The thirty-minute kinescope of the event consists entirely of audience questions and McCarthy responses. A notable questioner is young John Sirica with a bold and well-stated query. McCarthy's evasive and belligerent answer causes no uproar; Sirica judiciously allows both his question and McCarthy's inadequate answer to speak for themselves. So moderator Finley, tense but unflapped, moves on to another questioner.

The moderator briefly interrupts this same program to show a film clip in which Mayor-elect Wagner of New York City accepts Sylvania's Radio and Television Award for Theodore Granik, for Granik's "Forum."

The Sylvania Awards honored those who were "advancing creative television technique." In addition to "American Forum of the Air," some other 1953 recipients were ABC, BBC, and CBC for Coronation coverage; the Radio-Television Workshop of the Ford Foundation for "Omnibus"; "What's My Line?"; "Ding Dong School"; Edward R. Murrow's "Person to Person"; and "Dragnet." The awards committee stressed that television had come a long way in just two years, so far as the general level of program standards was concerned. But it is sur-

prising to note the complaints made thirty years ago: the awards committee pointed out that "mediocrity is still the chief characteristic of too many television programs." Other criticisms charged "a lack of fresh approach in programs, lack of simplicity in set designs, use of dubbed-in recorded laughter in recorded programs, and loud volume commercials."¹⁷ One critic expressed doubts about the Sylvania judges' decision-making methods, thereby derogating "American Forum of the Air": "It would be interesting to know . . . by what process of elimination or argument the committee arrived at the conclusion that 'American Forum of the Air' is the best discussion program on the air. Why is it better than 'Meet the Press,' 'The Big Issue,' or 'Youth Wants to Know?'"¹⁸

"American Forum of the Air" and "Meet the Press" were both NBC public affairs programs and had similar formats. They were often compared. One writer observed, "For some reason, perhaps the absence of Martha Rountree, the 'American Forum' seems to have more scope and dignity than 'Meet the Press.' . . . It seems more scholarly in its approach, less journalistic."¹⁹

But comparisons with "Meet the Press" were not always favorable. Jack Gould, in a June 1951 *New York Times Magazine* article entitled "What Television Is—And What It Might Be," wrote: "Discussion programs on current affairs, notably 'Meet the Press,' may be very arresting and frequently produce news in themselves. Some, however, are too preoccupied with putting on 'a show' and are apt to offer more emotion than information. The 'American Forum of the Air' is a typical case."

The same writer, in "TV at the Crossroads: A Critic's Survey" (*New York Times Magazine*, March 9, 1952), remarked, "The forums and talk shows vary sharply in quality, albeit each does achieve the end of stimulating discussion. . . . 'America's Forum' [sic] and 'The Editors Speak Out' get into difficulties when they have too many experts; there's apt to be . . . confusion." So, while the television program had its fans, it had detractors, too.

The following year, in the June 14 *Des Moines Register*, Paul Cotton anticipated a

potential problem: "'American Forum's' greatest disadvantage is the time it's shown, which, with daylight saving, is 12:30 P.M. Sunday in Iowa. Being a good show but not in commercial demand, the network puts it in the early Sunday lineup of 'prestige' shows." The problem was lack of commercial demand, which could make or break a television show.

And the networks began to want more programming control. Specifically, NBC did not want to use independently produced news programs, like "American Forum of the Air." Ted Granik's program may have begun to require too much commitment from NBC. A *Variety* headline of August 22, 1951, reads: "NBC's Aired Apology to Reuther Seen Stopgap to Smears on Panel Shows." The story explains: "NBC was forced to issue a public apology on television Sunday, August 19, for an allegedly slanderous remark made by a participant the preceding week on 'American Forum of the Air' against Walter Reuther, prez [sic] of the United Auto Workers. Incident was believed to mark the first time that a network has ever made such an unqualified retraction and apology, and, according to some industryites, probably a beneficial thing in that it will serve as a warning to other panel shows guarding against unqualified statements broadcast as part of the discussion. . . ."

After cutting the show back to alternate weeks, NBC dropped it altogether in 1957. Following a brief hiatus, the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company picked it up for about eighteen months.

So, in addition to Granik's declining health, various external forces were coming into play, gradually drawing the forum to a close. In 1960, the program's last year, shows occurred irregularly, with sometimes as long as three weeks intervening between each.

Ted Granik had other projects which may have distracted him from "American Forum." The 1949 move to television had inspired him to further broadcasting feats. Beginning in 1951, while he maintained close ties with various NBC department heads, Granik devised and produced a second successful weekly discussion program entitled "Youth Wants to Know." For a time, it alternated with "American Forum of the



Moderator Frank Blair, program guest Mike DiSalle, governor of Ohio, and young "press corps" relax on the set of Theodore Granik's successful television program "Youth Wants to Know," November 4, 1951.

Air"; soon the two were being broadcast back-to-back. Technically, "Youth" was a spin-off of "American Forum of the Air." In its early years, "Youth Wants to Know" was a simulcast, like its parent program. Its original title was "American Youth Forum," but in January 1952 it became "Youth Wants to Know." For this program, a group of about thirty high school students, recruited through the American Legion Youth program from the Washington, D.C., area, came to the NBC studios. Sitting in a large room, they faced the guest of the week, acting as a sort of press corps, with Granik selecting questioners from the raised hands. The program's guests were major figures in business, politics, and international affairs. The arts and communications fields were represented, too, by such luminaries as Rodgers and Hammerstein, and photojournalist Margaret Bourke-White.



Moderator Stephen McCormick looks on as program guest Sen. Barry Goldwater (Arizona Republican) responds to a question from one of the teenagers on "Youth Wants to Know" telecast of August 11, 1957.

Eleanor Roosevelt appeared on the show, as did Sen. Joseph McCarthy, Harry S. Truman, Richard Nixon, and Gerald Ford. John Kennedy appeared twice, once soon after being elected senator from Massachusetts, and again just before becoming president of the United States. Sen. Wayne Morse must have enjoyed the program, for he appeared three times; the Library has several copies of each show.

On the first broadcast of "Youth Wants to Know," Sen. Robert A. Taft, one of Granik's favorite speakers, faced an audience of teenagers querying him on the coming presidential campaign, the Far East, and the liberal-conservative struggle within the Republican party. After the broadcast, switchboards were swamped with calls from enthusiastic listeners. After the show, Senator Taft stayed in the studio with the young people for two hours and he later remarked, "I've never been questioned so intelligently in my entire public life."²⁰

By 1953, Stephen McCormick was regular moderator on "Youth Wants to Know." He liked the teenagers, and occasionally commended one of them for some accomplishment. During the telecast of April 14, 1954, he applauded regular Mary Jean Creek for having been chosen outstanding senior high school student of the year by the Washington, D.C., Junior Chamber of Commerce. And in late November 1955, McCormick mentioned an incident involving another young regular named Billy, who had lost a pet snake. McCormick referred to young Bill as "the greatest snake hunter on Capitol Hill," and Bill gleefully admitted to having had "half the Library of Congress scared."²¹

Philip Hamburger, writing the "Television" column in a June 1954 *New Yorker*, praised the program. In his article, Hamburger described one program which seemed to characterize the series. Gordon Dean, a former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission was guest; the questions mainly scrutinized the security hearing on Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer; Mr. Dean appropriately demurred, on grounds that the case was still pending. Nevertheless, the young questioners clung tenaciously to the subject of

Oppenheimer. While Dean could not and would not give answers, "the young peoples' interest in the problem was itself a remarkable thing."

Vogue magazine of March 15, 1953, described "Youth" as "the Sunday NBC-TV and radio show in which public figures often duck the really revealing answers to public questions from smart young ones who rarely sheathe their probings." In fact, Laurence Laurent wrote in the *Washington Post*, "the children ask surprisingly difficult questions. . . . Many of our officials have learned to avoid [appearing on] this program."²² It is clear that the stars of the show were the "smart young ones" for whom Granik provided the stage. This successful program ran from 1951 until 1967.

Ted Granik made numerous contributions to broadcasting history. Possibly goaded by NBC's inability to support the "Forum," he challenged organized television networks by means of UHF-cable television. He felt that local, live public affairs and news shows should be one of UHF's primary functions. His first UHF station was WGSP, based in Washington, D.C. When he bought it, in 1967, it was the last television franchise available in Washington. It was to have begun broadcasting in late 1970, and he planned to devote its programs to public affairs.

Obituaries written for Theodore Granik in September 1970 mention his numerous business and legal activities. But they acknowledge that his primary accomplishments were in broadcasting. He is described as "Theodore Granik of the Forums"; and the man "who presided over some of America's earliest and toughest radio and television debates."

Currently, the Library's collections include bound transcripts of "American Forum of the Air" in the stacks and some bound transcripts in the Manuscript Division with the Granik Papers; NBC discs containing twelve forum radio broadcasts between November 1944 and December 1949; twenty-two 16 mm kinescope films of "American Forum of the Air," twenty-three 16 mm kinescopes and eighteen two-inch videotapes of "Youth Wants to Know," and other Granik television productions in the Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division; about five thousand still photographs of the radio and television programs in

the Prints and Photographs Division; and in the Manuscript Division, the Granik Papers, comprising 494 containers—fifteen of which are scrapbooks—of papers spanning 1930 to 1970, which were donated to the Library by Mr. Granik's widow following his death in 1970.

SARAH ROUSE is a film and television cataloger in the Library's Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division. Before joining the Library in 1976, she worked for the American Film Institute, contributing to *The AFI Catalog: Feature Films 1961-1970*, and was in England as archivist of the London International Film School. Ms. Rouse is currently working on a catalog of the Library's television holdings, to be published next year. For this planned publication, she cataloged over seventy-five television programs in the series "American Forum of the Air" and "Youth Wants to Know," both produced and moderated by Theodore Granik.

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James Joyce, ca. 1933. *Prints and Photographs Division.*

Recent Publications

of the Library of Congress

Arab Oil: A Bibliography of Materials in the Library of Congress

1982. 206 p. (S/N 030-000-00143-5) \$7.50. Compiled by George Dimitri Selim, African and Middle Eastern Division.

This bibliography of materials in the collections of the Library of Congress pertaining to Arab oil cites articles, books, dissertations, maps, papers, periodicals, reports, and audiovisual materials in Western languages that use the Roman alphabet. The bibliography is divided into four parts: the Arab world and the Middle East as a whole, political and geographical entities, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), of which the Arab oil-producing countries are members, and dictionaries which relate to the Arab oil industry. Supplementing this bibliography of almost nine hundred entries are a list of abbreviations; a name index which lists authors, cartographers, compilers, conferences, consultants, editors, film producers, photographers, sponsors, and others; a title index which also identifies articles, chapters, or sections in publications; and a subject index.

Luther Harris Evans, 1902-1981: A Memorial Tribute to the Tenth Librarian of Congress

1982. 26 p. Free from the Library of Congress, Central Services Division, Washington, D.C. 20540.

This tribute is based on a seminar convened at the Library of Congress on April 28, 1982, to honor the memory of Luther H. Evans. The booklet contains selected remarks of the seminar participants, who were friends and colleagues of the former Librarian, and quotations from Dr. Evans' own speeches and writings that represent his many activities and interests. Illustrated.

James Joyce's Hundredth Birthday: Side and Front Views

1982. 28 p. By Richard Ellmann. Free from the Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C. 20540.

By recounting several episodes in the life of James Joyce, Richard Ellmann shows the way Joyce used his own experiences and acquaintances in his fiction. "He was at once dependent upon the real and superior to it," argues Ellmann, who goes on to say that the "distinguishing mark" of Joyce's books is their "Irishness." The text of this booklet is taken from a lecture delivered at the Library of Congress on March 10, 1982.

READERS WHO ENJOYED the media articles in this issue of the *Quarterly Journal* will be interested in a forthcoming book from the Library of Congress: *Wonderful Inventions: Motion Pictures, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound at the Library of Congress*, edited by Iris B. Newsom, with an introduction by Erik Barnouw. The book contains twenty-six articles on films, television, radio, and recorded sound, as well as over four hundred illustrations and two film music discs. Available late fall 1983. For price and ordering information, please write to the Library of Congress, Publishing Office, Washington, D.C. 20540.

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